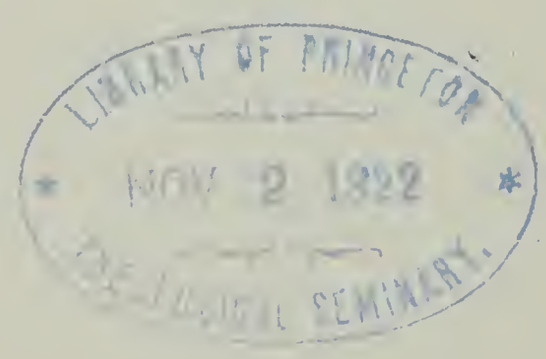
TRUTH ABOUT THE JEWS

TOLD BY A GENTILE

WALTER HURT



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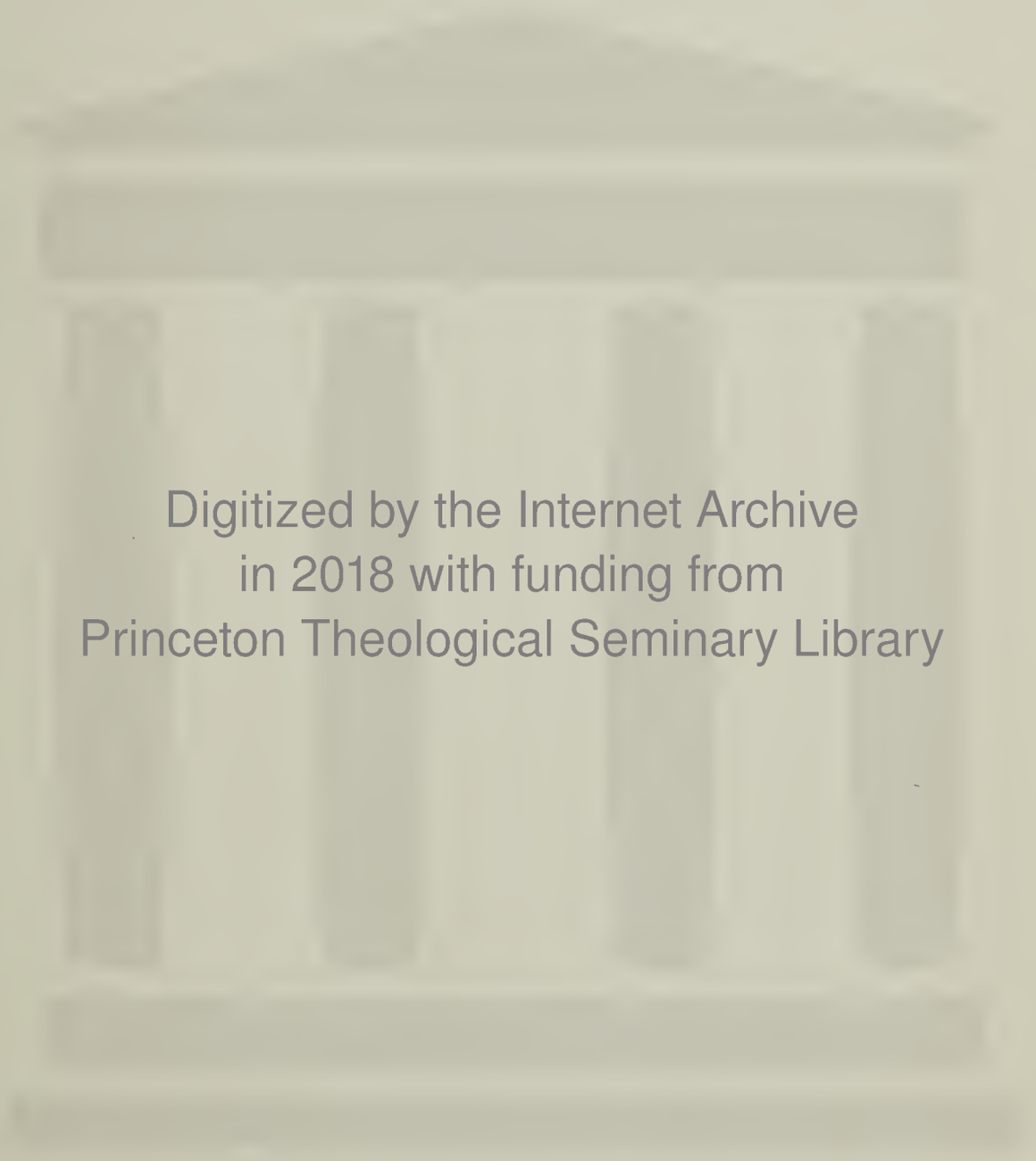
by a Gentile



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TRUTH ABOUT THE JEWS

Told by a Gentile

By
WALTER HURT

With an Introduction by
DR. RALCY HUSTED BELL

I am not ignorant, ne unsure, that many there are, before whose sight this Book shall finde small grace, and lesse favour. So hard a thing it is to write or indite any matter, whatsoever it be, that should be able to sustaine and abide the variable judgement, and to obtaine or winne the constant love and allowance of every man, especially if it containe in it any novelty or unwonted strangenesse.

—*Raynald's Woman's Book.*

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HORTON AND COMPANY
PUBLISHERS

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WALTER HURT

TO

Sam Hellman

AUTHOR, JOURNALIST, AND HUMANITARIAN
AS AN INSPIRING EXEMPLAR
OF THE
PROGRESSIVE IDEALISM OF INTELLECTUAL JEWRY
THIS VOLUME IS FRATERNALLY

DEDICATED

INTRODUCTION

THE Mohammedan calls the Christian a "dog"; the Christian regards the Mohammedan as a savage ass; most Gentiles are prejudiced against Jews; and no doubt most Jews reciprocate the compliment.

I do not know how long the human race will indulge class-hatred. Family ties and group dissensions always have been characteristics of society. The pack-urge became the spirit of the clan when our progenitors began to hunt. The same spirit, modified in a thousand ways, lives today; and the roots of class-discord run back very far. Mr. Hurt deals with these multiple phenomena philosophically and brilliantly. His deductions are illuminating and they are highly satisfactory within the limitations of his space.

Back of all this leers and smiles that strange, indefinite demon called *human nature.* The genesis of class and caste arises from the youthfulness of our moral sense, still only half-awake in the dawn of reason. Biologically we are full-grown and in middle life; psychologically we have not yet reached adolescence; as social beings we still are infants. Ethics has made only a sporadic appearance on earth.

We need not despair, however, because we are so very young. The higher elements of our growth develop slowly if we measure them by the puny standards suitable to our minds. We need not get into a sweat over our reforms, for they, too, will proceed slowly. We can not rely on enlightenment alone,

because with the spread of enlightenment there must be a synchronous growth of our moral nature if we would profit by the increase of our mental vision. But Mr. Hurt convinces us that we must not lose faith in the destiny of our race, nor hope in the trend of things called progress; that we must persist in our efforts to become worthy members of a great family.

We know what the Jew has accomplished; we know his history and his ideals; but the time has passed when flattery helps him or persecution and prejudice hinder his activities. Whether the Jews are a "Chosen People," it is not for me to say. Mr. Hurt says they are, and I think they believe him. Personally, I know nothing of God and less of his purposes; but I believe in the Jews' mission—in the mission of all peoples; and I believe that the higher the ethical development the more sacred the mission. Generally speaking, I suppose, the Jews are no worse and no better than other *civilized* folk. Their destiny is that of their brothers—the rest of the human race. Their aloofness will pass, as their persecution must. Their excellence is recognized wherever mankind is intelligent and just; and their faults are only the usual imperfections of humanity.

As a religionist, the Jew is not as narrow in his views as is the Christian—not quite as mean in matters of faith. He neither proselytes nor persecutes in the name of his religion. He is willing that others should worship their gods in their own way—insisting only on the same right for himself.

One great cause of class-antipathy, as Mr. Hurt suggests, is the tendency to judge masses by individuals. That is natural, because personal experience has to do with persons as well as with things. Few of

us—Jew or Gentile—are broad enough to profit by racial experience; few of us see beyond our own narrow horizons. The average member of one group judges all those of another by the few of his acquaintances. That is to say, not many of us are philosophers. Mr. Hurt towers amongst us as a shining peak. His vision is broad and fair.

The idea of aversion to another human being because of differences in religious belief, color, or environment is repulsive to any sense of decency combined with a little intelligence. Yet nothing else ever was more common to our kind. The antagonism based on economics, and the aversion owing to psychophysiologic causes, of course, disclose other veins, many of them deeply hidden in human nature. Indeed, Mr. Hurt digs into many veins, biologic, psychologic, and sociologic.

Cruelty to the weak by the brutality of might bestows upon the victims a spiritual compensation, raising them above their inquisitors and beyond harm. As the author ably shows, the fear, the envy, and the malicious jealousy so often manifested by Gentiles toward Jews are the sincerest compliments that could be paid to their worth. For the most part, they can well afford to ignore matters of that kind; but when it comes to the hyenoid attacks of Henry Ford and his ilk, such infamies must be resented, not only by self-respecting Jews, but by all other decent folk.

This book is a living force at once humane and dynamic. Its philosophy widens our vision whilst its beauty stimulates our moral nature. Its wit enlivens our minds and its humor sweetens our souls. It is exactly the kind of book I should expect from this particular author—for Walter Hurt is a philosopher.

He is very much more than that; but philosopher he is above all things else. As poet and humanist-knight he is perhaps chiefly regarded today—but as *philosopher* he will be remembered tomorrow.

With this brief estimate of his work, I feel it my privilege to pay a tribute to his worth as a *friend:*

If friendship through the years, like mellow wine,
Grows better; if long associations hold
Through fretful change and stress, as yours and mine,
A comradeship more precious than pure gold,—
Then lift your glass to pledge, as knights of old,
With me an endless span of fealty
Between our clans,—and health for you and me!

I drink to you in friendship's hallowed name;
I toast the valor born of your strong pen;
I celebrate the songs that won your fame,—
The perfect prose that claims the praise of men;—
I toast your health and happiness, and then
I drain my glass to those of gentler mien
Who know your gallant love and find it clean.

RALCY HUSTED BELL.

New York.

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TRUTH ABOUT THE JEWS

TOLD BY A GENTILE

PRELIMINARY SURVEY OF THE SUBJECT

ISRAEL approaches the fulfillment of ancient prophecy. The deathless dream of countless centuries is about to be realized. Judea now beholds the promise of an early completion of its historic mission. The patient purpose of the Race Eternal at last is justified. The Messianic Era is at hand.

Human society has been disorganized by the destructive clash of conflicting national ideals. It must be reconstructed according to the Jewish concept, that has survived the assaults of the ages for this immortal consummation.

This is no ill-formed conclusion of the dilettante sociologist, but one that quadrates convincingly with the philosophy of history and the logic of contemporaneous events.

Arguments supporting this assertion will be presented in another chapter, entitled, "The Messiah Cometh"; arguments that, it is believed, will appeal with authentic force to every thoughtful reader.

Lest there be misapprehension, let it be said at the outset that in this series of dissertations no attempt will be made and no desire is experienced to dissuade the Jew from any fundamental doctrine of his religious faith; instead, the entire thesis is founded upon the basic integrity of accepted Judaism.

THE whole world is in the crucible of Social Change.

Spiritual demoralization always is a consequence of war, and the disastrous present effect is proportionate to the unparalleled extent of the great world-conflict. Debased by greed, brutalized by violence,

saturated with selfishness, exhausted by extravagance and weakened by waste, impoverished by unprecedented graft, humiliated by hypocrisy unspeakable; broken, betrayed and crucified by its appointed leaders, Society imperatively requires for its regeneration an infusion of new-old ideals.

This is the occasion Israel has awaited through the ages with steadfast purpose and unfaltering faith while it watched the stars and prayed for deliverance.

The Jew, with his altruism, his perseverance, his efficiency, his universal understanding and his constructive genius, is needed to salvage Society and rebuild its shattered fabric.

After ages-long delay, the time has arrived for the Jewish ideal to be resolved from an abstract dream to a concrete reality; from a passive purpose into an active working force; from a hope to an actuality.

In my opinion, world-peace can not prevail, social justice can not be established, universal brotherhood can not be born, until Israel's ideal shall be realized.

The Jew, long hampered and oppressed, is marching now to moral conquest.

The door of opportunity stands widely open. The world now is ready to accept the Jew unreservedly, because in its extremity the world has imperative need of him. In the present supreme crisis his services are indispensable.

Necessity not only is the "mother of invention," but it also is the sire of new social systems and governmental organizations—the dual parent of all human progress.

Because the Jew perforce is to be accepted, his ideal of righteousness and his passion for justice, combined with his exhaustless energy and his constructive endeavor, will usher in a new and an equitable Social Order.

In other words, as a result of the outer pressure of economic necessity, reinforced by the inner compulsion of spiritual vacuity, the world is to be Judaized.

The situation, however, is not so simple as it may seem. The significance of Israel's amazing survival

over all the fierce forces of destruction directed against it throughout the chiliads, comprehends more than a Judaized world in the ordinary sense.

The Jew now is face to face with the perpetual problem of the ages, clamoring for solution—the meaning of his mission. This dream no longer is a distant thing, but immediate and demanding materialization. The Jew at last must justify himself and give sufficient reason for his persistent racial existence, else suffer self-stultification.

It may truly be said that the Jew is on final trial, this time before the tribunal of his own high traditions, with all the world as witness, awaiting a verdict from which there can be no appeal.

APPARENTLY, the present violent anti-Semitic agitation throughout the world contradicts my statement that Gentile society is prepared to accept the Jew. Actually, however, it is strong proof of the truth of the proposition. This anti-Semitic movement is not a popular manifestation, is not of volitional origin or spontaneous in character; it was engendered and is engineered by a crafty minority that realizes this general readiness and would alter the attitude with demoralizing propaganda. The mass-mind is ready to accept the Jew, but is not yet fully aware of its readiness.

Soon general society will be forced to realize this receptivity, and then petty race prejudices will be swallowed and lost in the world's larger necessities.

THERE is nothing provincial about the Jewish problem. It is a world-problem, even as the Jewish mission is a world-mission. The interest in these questions is coextensive with civilization.

There is small profit in the discussion of any problem unless a solution is provided.

For the solution of any given problem productive of evil effects, it is necessary: First, to understand

the nature of the problem; second, to determine the causes of effects evidenced; third, to devise a means for removing those causes. The chief point of which is that such a problem does not cease to exist merely when its nature and cause are ascertained. The complete solution comes only with the removal of the cause.

Various causes for race antagonism are ascribed by different writers, but few of these have touched the fundamentals of the problem. They find the phenomena, but they miss the noumena. Because most such writers, especially the non-Jewish, have no actual understanding of the etiology of ethnic hatred, their faulty diagnosis mistakes manifestations for the malady; therefore, they would apply incorrect therapeutics.

In any discussion of divers Jewish questions, they must, of course, collectively be considered as The Problem. In search for a solution, however, this general problem can be reduced to two important particulars: Removal of race prejudice and fulfillment of Israel's mission. To these fundamental features, therefore, will the chief attention of this discussion be devoted, although many incidental integrants, consisting mostly of effects and consequences, also will be considered.

Closely related to these basic factors is the renascence of Zionism. The enormous power of Jewish influence throughout the world now being exerted in behalf of the Zionistic idea invests it with tremendous importance and makes it one of the foremost phases of the Jewish problem, in respect both to proportions and to immediateness. Moreover, disagreement among Jews themselves regarding this momentous movement adds difficulty to the question and gives it larger prominence in the general problem.

For any substantial benefits to accrue from this discussion, sentiment must be discarded and all questions be placed upon a purely philosophic plane. Philosophy, like nature, is neither kind nor cruel; it merely is dispassionate.

Partisanship is no part of philosophy's function. It is not the business of the thinker to take sides, but

to determine and expound the truth. Your veritable philosopher can have no prejudices, no predilections; he can neither love nor hate. Like the balances in just equipoise, his mind weighs all things with serene indifference.

It is needful that Judea's present position in relation to world affairs be defined by a non-Jew. Only an outsider can contemplate with clarity internal problems. An exterior view is essential to a proper perspective.

Furthermore, any plea for a universal acceptance of Jewish ideals, to be successful, must be accompanied by a vindication of those ideals. Such presentation must be made by an impartial advocate; and only a non-Jew, of course, can divest himself of every particle of partisanship in discussing such a subject.

Little that is worth while on Jewish topics has been wrought by non-Jewish writers. Two or three books of skill and substance have come from this source, but these are chiefly historical and statistical, and are disposed to substitute sentiment for philosophy. Such work has neither creative character nor constructive effect. Articles of a laudatory and defensive nature concerning Jews frequently appear in the newspapers and magazines, but mostly they are the crude product of unqualified hack-writers, done at behest of the business office in the interest of either circulation or the advertising department, and with ulterior motive crassly apparent. Such superficial and calculated scribbling is not seriously to be considered.

Even when prompted by an earnest purpose, non-Jewish writers, for the most part, have no adequate understanding of the psychology of the Jewish people.

To understand the Jew, one must have not only an interchangeable mind, but also the vicarious spirit. Not only must he understand Jewish ideas, but he must understand Jewish ideals—which is something different. It is not enough to think with the Jew; one must *feel* with the Jew. This is a difficult thing, and only a certain type of mentality can achieve such an attitude.

For correct interpretation of the Jewish ideals one

should be able to say of the Jews as said Kipling of the native East Indians in explanation of his ability to write of them with such marvelous understanding:

"I have eaten your bread and salt,
I have drunk your water and wine;
The deaths ye died I have watched beside,
And the lives that ye led were mine."

No extent of study will give any Gentile a grasp of Jewish problems. He must have an intuitive understanding of these things, else will he understand them not at all.

It is not reasonable to expect a Jew to write of his own race without a degree of internal involvement; judicial consideration of the subject may not be expected from the Gentile philosemite; while the work of the Judaphobe is to be dismissed as of no philosophic value.

What the Jew most needs is the truth about himself, told without fear or favor; and the Gentile world needs the same truth from an impartial source.

I approach the subject, therefore, in all earnestness and with a proper restraint. I shall not bestow unwarranted praise nor shall I indulge in criticism unduly adverse.

Sensible and self-respecting Jews covet unmerited compliment no more than they desire unjust censure.

The following essays, consequently, are neither an apology nor an attack, but are simply an unbiased sociologic study.

My task is not easy, nor one to engender thanks. It is difficult for a Gentile to write of the Jew with exact justice and hope for an impartial hearing. If he faithfully portrays the faults of the Jew, by some he is accused of anti-Semitism; if he depicts truly the Jewish virtues, by others he is called a Judaphile. The average person is unable to conceive a sane social philosopher with the universal mind, measuring all men by individual merit and according to all peoples their just deserts without regard to race differentiation.

PRELIMINARY SURVEY OF THE SUBJECT

OF ALL earth's peoples, the Jews have the most interesting history. It is tragedy; it is a poem and a romance. It is not for this reason, however, that I give to Jewish problems my profoundest attention. It is because I have a passion for liberty, justice, and brotherhood, and see in Judaism the sole agency for their attainment, that it makes its appeal to me.

It is because I would see ended the madness of international massacre that is war, because I have a great desire for human harmony, because I long to see the nascent nations grow in grace in a more beautiful world ruled by the Law of Love, that I endeavor to promote Judaic principles and lend my best efforts to hasten the hour of Israel's victorious vindication with its attendant triumph of social transformation.

This change will come because of intolerable conditions which only the Jewish ideal of universal justice can relieve. This ideal has not before been realized because social evolution had not reached the stage where we were ready for it; the human intelligence had not developed to the point where it was prepared to appreciate and accept it.

The occasion is near at hand; the Jews should be ready for the work.

TO ME, in addressing an audience comprising so many who are so much wiser than myself, it is embarrassing to employ the didactic method quite necessary to the present purpose; yet is it inconsistent to apologize for the unavoidable.

There is no aim at *ex cathedra* dicta. It should be borne in mind that where statements are dogmatically presented, it is solely for sake of directness.

Moreover, much of this matter is explanatory for the reason that it is intended for reading by non-Jews quite as much as by Jews, and to benefit both; to remind the one and to enlighten the other. The Jew who is disposed to be unmindful of his duties it should impress with a more vivid consciousness of his mission.

It is calculated to remove from the Gentile mind any lingering remnant of race prejudice and make for mutual understanding.

DEALING as they do with the philosophic phase of the subject, these disquisitions will concern themselves but little with the historical. The history of the Jews is by turn inspiring and depressing; it is magnificent both in achievement and in suffering. It is not important to my purpose, however, excepting as it may be made a lesson for the present or a guide to the future.

I shall not dwell upon the persecutions and oppressions to which the Jew has been subjected. These are matters of history and generally known. When brief reference is made to such, it will be simply for the purpose of explaining certain effects.

These essays will not be allowed to degenerate into a discussion of comparative personal qualities. The faults or merits of the Jew do not concern me excepting insofar as they are factors in the problem. Superiority of Semite or Aryan, either general or particular, is altogether an academic proposition if it is not purely a matter of opinion, and in any case is foreign to the fundamental consideration.

It is a common practice of non-Jewish writers when ostensibly dealing with Jewish questions to concern themselves chiefly with enumerating the various virtues of the Jew and cataloguing his admirable achievements in every department of human activity. This is interesting, and is pleasing to racial vanity; but it plants no guide-posts and solves no problems, therefore is without value in the literature of social philosophy.

IN WHAT shall follow I have written in all frankness and wholly without fear, confident that every tolerant reader, even when at disagreement, will realize my conscientious effort at fairness and the largest measure of helpful results.

Many Jews doubtless will be startled, even shocked, by some of my ideas; but all will, I hope, consider them carefully and without prejudice, remembering always that they represent the non-Jewish viewpoint.

In the years of my youth Jewish editors showed a kindly hospitality in reproducing, with generous comment thereon, writings of mine concerning matters of interest to Israel, one distinguished journalist paying me the compliment of saying I had a clearer insight of the spirit of Judaism than any other non-Jewish writer. Deserved or not, such indorsement of my ideas has encouraged me (and except for this encouragement I would not have the temerity to undertake a task of so ambitious a character) to hope that, at this crucial stage of social change—when, amid the chaos of crumbling creeds, the world, in travail, while fortifying old faiths is giving birth to new beliefs—I may say something further that will prove helpful alike to the Jewish people and to all humankind.

In such hopeful belief has this series of studies been written.

CAUSES OF RACE ANTAGONISM

RACE antagonism, in common with all social manifestations, has an economic root; although religion and patriotism, twin fetishes of fanaticism and chief resource and reliance of the demagogue, ordinarily afford a false basis for justification of its active expression.

It is futile to seek an elsekind explanation of any social phenomena.

Caste distinction does not differ essentially from racial antipathy, being merely a further equation in the endless process of infinite division. Equally, and more evidently, this also has its economic origin.

Critical examination of the evidence reveals the fact that social demarcation, instead of being governed by purely cultural distinctions, invariably appears coincidently with the collision of material considerations and undeviatingly follows the lines of such divergence.

Wherefore, the class struggle—that inexorable clash of opposing economic interests which the conventional sociologist, in blind stupidity or from selfish calculation, refuses to recognize as a fundamental fact.

Lower animals of any genus, whatever its variation of species, have no degrees of caste, for the reason that their economic processes are too elementary for such evolution; hence, no class conflict. The solidarity of the pack, the homogeneity of the herd, is preserved by a complete community of physical interests.

That caste distinctions really are a result of economic differences is not difficult of conclusive demonstration. Place all individuals upon the same economic level, and caste would disappear. To those who may deny the truth of this assertion I would point the significant fact that each social caste *does* occupy

a separate economic plane. Which is the more logical assumption—that caste is a consequence of economic status, or that economic condition is an effect of caste? We see families lose caste with a loss of prosperity, and we see others assume caste with a newly acquired affluence.

It is true that sometimes the parvenu temporarily is excluded from select society, but this is because of uncertainty that his new economic status will endure. For the permanence of social prestige, ability to retain is not less essential than ability to acquire. This, and not any eugenic law affecting esthetic development, is the basis for the belief that it requires three generations of wealth to evolve a gentleman.

Social caste, therefore, merely is a protective alliance of economic interests for the exclusion of inimical influences and hostile elements, formed instinctively and without conscious motive. Social democracy lets down the fences and defenses of the economically superior class, for which reason it is to be resisted. Caste is an invisible wall encircling the elect as a fortification for their material fortunes. Whenever financial reverses befall a member of the group, he forthwith is cast without the gates in all unworthiness.

It should be understood, of course, that the wealthy man must not violate the economic code of his class, else he will thereby declass himself; and punishment for his sin is certain.

We should distinguish between class and caste. Class is a term defining general economic groups, while caste designates the divisions of those groups. Caste exists in every class-stratum of the social organization. The lower levels have their caste distinctions as truly as have the exclusive elevations. Among tramps, crooks, and other of the pariah element, these distinctions are very clearly marked. With courtesans and their parasitic consorts the lines of social contact are as sharply drawn as in conventional circles.

All this may at the present juncture appear discursive and irrelevant, but it is essential to a clear

comprehension of much that shall follow. Throughout the succeeding reflections, therefore, let the reader steadfastly bear in mind that, however seemingly remote the relation, any consideration of social effects inevitably reverts to the economic factor for their cause.

Race antagonism is coeval with human existence. It was present in the most primitive society, having made its appearance when nature, in response to the law of environmental adaptation, partitioned mankind into ethnic groups with differing characteristics.

Every human action, from marriage to murder, whatever apparently its immediate motivation, if traced with true logic from consequence to cause, will be found to have an economic origin, however indirect sometimes may be the connection.

It is an inescapable conclusion, therefore, that from these all-embracing economic considerations every race problem necessarily is engendered.

Among race problems, that of the Jews is of dominant interest simply because it is of greater economic importance.

For a proper understanding of the Jewish problem we first must consider the fundamentals upon which rests the fabric of human society. As a beginning, we should recognize the unshakable fact that nothing in this world merely happens. The law of causation lacks not a single link in its chain of continuity. Every occurrence, however fortuitous in appearance, can, through an unbroken serial of circumstances, be traced back to a logical origin. If we accept the unassailable theory of evolution, which applies to the social not less than to the physical organism, then every condition, every fact, every phase of living, whether material or metaphysical, is the product of development. All social phenomena, therefore, have their underlying philosophy. In explanation of class-cleavage, with its accompanying subordinate divisions of caste, and its expansion or extension to race antagonism, we must accept the doctrine of "economic determinism"; *i. e.*, the materialistic conception of

history which teaches that the prevailing method whereby the members of any given society procure the material means of prolonging their existence is the basis upon which all their other institutions are built: in short, that the bread-and-butter question is and always has been the chief concern of the human race, and that its religion, law, politics, etc., invariably are made to conform to this economic basis.

Proceeding from this premise, only one conclusion is possible to the logically reasoning mind. However much other factors may affect it, the fact remains that the Jewish problem is primarily and essentially an economic one. It is a radical error to assume that in any fundamental respect it is a racial problem.

In view of this theorem, it reasonably may be inquired why the Aryan race closes the door of caste to the Jew and denies him social equality when he has attained to economic equality.

This apparent inconsistency is explained by the existence of race rivalry. Jews are not considered individually, but in the mass. They are reckoned with as a race—and they are a race apart. In the Jew, collectively, the impulse of race-consciousness, with its attendant solidarity, exceeds that of class-consciousness and its accompanying solidarity. Between Aryan and Jew there is lacking that identity of interests which comes with racial fusion.*

The actual economic aristocracy (which is wholly unrelated to the higher aristocracies of brains and character) is polyglot, cosmopolitan, international, and multi-racial—yet paradoxically undemocratic.

While the individual Jew perforce is admitted to financial fellowship because of an eligibility that pre-

*Precisianists probably will take exception to my use of the word "Jew" as a racial appellation. Likewise, they may complain that the word "Gentile" is inexactly used to distinguish non-Jews. Also, the words "race" and "Semitic," together with the latter's derivatives, are generic designations, so are inaccurate when applied exclusively to the Jews. It should be understood, therefore, that I thus employ these words merely as terms of convenience, made such by careless general usage.

cludes exclusion, his Aryan associates resent instinctively the economic handicap imposed upon them by Jewish solidarity, and their intuitive fear erects against the Semitic "menace" a barricade of social caste.

Naturally, the Gentile does not understand his dislike of the Jew or realize that it is founded on economic fear. Were men to analyze their prejudices, those prejudices would dissolve. Often an instinctive dread impels us to avoid an unrecognized danger, and frequently that dread persists long after the danger that inspired it has passed.

One of the most illuminating discussions of this subject I have seen is "Why Jews Are Hated," by Arthur Brisbane. The only fault I find with this article is that primarily the author proceeds from a wrong premise. His postulate is that the Jew always has been hated, not because of his religion, but because of his "superior knowledge." This is correct as far as it goes, but it is not sufficiently definite. Extending the proposition to its ultimate significance, the Jew is hated because of superior knowledge *that gives him a decided economic advantage.* That Brisbane recognizes this, although for reasons peculiar to the purposes of his disquisition he refers to it only in casual fashion, is revealed by this statement near the close of his article:

"They hated and burned Jews because they feared their superior knowledge, *their business cunning which outwitted them,* and because it was necessary to condemn them in order to steal their money with good grace."

At the beginning of this article Brisbane says: "The average Jew, knowing little about his people, tells you that Jews are hated for their religion. Average Christians have the same erroneous idea."

Although the massacre of Jews always is explained on the highly moral ground of religious expiation, it is illuminatingly significant that such slaughter invariably is accompanied by appropriation of their wealth and confiscation of their chattels. Were the Russian

Jew as destitute of desirable impedimenta as the Muscovite moujik, doubtless he would have been immune from murder by the czar's gentle Christian subjects.

No more striking example of race antagonism resulting from economic conflict can be found than the treatment of Armenians by the Turks. Like the persecution of the Jews by conscientious Christians, the persecution of Christian Armenians by the Mohammedan Turk is explained and extenuated by the persecutors on religious grounds. This scarcely is a satisfactory elucidation and excuse, as the Mussulman does not persecute the Jews, although Israel's monotheism is hardly less heretical to the faith of Islam than is trinitarian Christianity.

The actual reason for this delicacy of discrimination in favor of the Jew and against the Armenian is found in an economic discrepancy between these respective races. The Armenian represents the highest existing development of commercial cunning. The Turk, being an Oriental, is somewhat of a trader himself, and can hold his own fairly well in matching wits with the Jew in the game of barter; but in such a contest with the Armenian he stands not the shadow of a chance of winning. So, he has his single choice between bloodshed and bankruptcy, and he chooses with discretion.

Of course, the Armenian is possessed of many obnoxious personal traits—all of them, in fact. He is lying, lecherous, treacherous, as sinister as a snake; but these things are conceivably endurable—it is his economic iniquities that exhaust the forbearance of the temperamental Turk and evoke the visitations of his vengeance. In addition to his consummate cunning, and increasing his discordance as an economic element, the Armenian is amazingly avaricious, his greed being as proverbial as and fully proportional to his guile. Moreover, not content with the legitimate devices of devious acquisition, he is incredibly knavish. Destitute of every redeeming quality, he is a remarkable example of arrested ethical development; and his extraordinary commercial bent, directed along the

lines of his moral defection, make him an italicized economic irritant.

The Jew does not persecute the Armenian; he avoids him. The Turk, because of numerical proximity, finds him unavoidable, therefore he protects himself by the ingenuous expedient of killing him. This method of relief is slightly crude, perhaps, but serves its purpose most excellently.

In this the Turk shows himself regrettably lacking in originality. His quaint custom of massacre obviously was borrowed from the Christians after observing their manner of dealing with prosperous Jews, its simplicity and effectiveness recommending it to his practical mind. Also, he lacks thoroughness, as well as Christian thrift, as it is not recorded that robbery accompanies his wholesale homicide.

Taking the testimony of credible Jews, it would appear that the Turk (contrary to the character imputed to him by mendacious missionaries), when not indulging his rather reprehensible habit of murdering Armenians, is a good deal of a gentleman and treats the Jew as such. One of these witnesses, Herman Jacobsohn, writing in the *Jewish Criterion,* tells of the pitiable condition of Turkish Jewry under Christian dominion, and adds:

"With Ottoman rule their lot changed for the better. Indeed, a new era for the Turkish Jews was ushered in with the rise of the Crescent. Contrary to popular notions prevalent in the West, the Turk is by nature tolerant, brave, ever-smiling, honest, indulgent. His conquest of European Turkey was a God-sent gift for the Jews, not only of Turkey, but of the whole world. Turkey became a haven of rest for our people."

This would further indicate that the Turk is not habitually a homicide and strengthens the theory of economic exigency in his Armenian attitude.

It is wrong, of course—grievously wrong—for the Turk to kill Armenians, despite Christian example in Jewish pogroms. Yet those who have come in personal contact with many Armenians may not find it in their

hearts to chide him too harshly therefor, although the practice is not one to be encouraged. It is much easier —and very Christian-like—to sympathize with the Armenian in his tribulations when totally unacquainted with him and separated from his presence by many miles of ocean. But the Turk has no business to borrow from the Christians.

Although similar in its economic aspects, the Armenian problem has not the universal character of the Jewish problem because the Armenians are not universally distributed as are the Jews. It is largely a local problem, affecting mainly the Turks among extrinsic races.

The situation regarding racial rancor in its relation to economic conflict may briefly be summed up in thiswise:

Turks, unable successfully to compete with the Armenian in commerce, kill him. Moderately successful in such competition with the Jew, who benefits in this respect from comparison with the more adept Armenian, the Turk does not kill him. Christians (excepting Armenians), seeing themselves economically outstripped by the Jew, kill and rob him when unrestrained; elsewise, they persecute him in other and permissible ways. It is the immemorial practice of all races, when sufficiently powerful physically, to make war, under various pretenses, on any people that surpasses them in economic ability.

It is a law of life, from the lowest orders to the highest, from moneron up to man, to war upon whatever interferes with economic interest. This rule extends from the individual to classes, thence to nations, and on to groups of nations. In this respect the hawk is not essentially different from the human, nor the cannibal from the collegian. This law springs from the supreme instinct of self-preservation, is born of the universal impulse for survival; and in the very nature of things its processes are predatory.

For a fuller understanding of the economic dependence of race antagonism, let us consider its relation to patriotism, lack of which is one of the chief

faults falsely charged against the Jews. The irascible Doctor Johnson declared, "Patriotism is the last refuge of the scoundrel." He might also have said that it is the first refuge of the calculating politician designated as "statesman."

Says that master satirist, Disraeli, "Patriotism was a boast; now it is a controversy." To the chauvinist this definition may appear unduly cynical; but the Earl of Beaconsfield, as prime minister of England—the most imperialistic of all nations—certainly was qualified to speak of patriotism with a knowledge of its worth.

Patriotism is an artificial sentiment, skillfully fostered by rulers for their own interest. It is the emotional expression of national egotism, and as such is the negation of the universal principle of altruism. The substance of its inspiration is to "love your native land" and hate all others. It is a development of that allegiance which feudal lords exacted of their vassals (called "retainers," presumably for the reason that they were not allowed to retain anything of value), even as modern warfare is a development of medieval brigandage, which itself was an evolvement from primordial predation. Conventional patriotism simply substitutes loyalty to a locality for loyalty to a personage. It is purely a matter of geography.

Roman "patriotism" fought in behalf of Nero's tyranny. "Patriotism" perpetuated the abominations of the early monarchies of France and Spain. French "patriotism" strengthened Napoleon's ruthless arm when the Corsican usurper swept the continent of Europe like a bloody besom. "Patriotism" defended the Russian despotism. "Patriotism" upheld the Prussian autocracy against the recent "patriotic" onslaught of rival autocracies. "Patriotism" has fought every war of conquest and oppression. "Patriotism" now is invoked against the Jews in a bloody war in Europe and a bloodless war in the United States.

Race hostility is systematically cultivated by governments and held in reserve for state requirements.

It seldom is stirred to active demonstration except for promotion of war. Occasionally it is encouraged internally in safe moderation by governments with a populative plurality—as the defunct dual empire of Austro-Hungary, and Great Britain with its multiplicity of ethnic variants—in order that each blood-group may serve as a check upon the others and thus prevent coalescence of intrigue.

Wars are waged for various economic reasons—but always for economic reasons only, whatever the putative purpose; for commercial advantage when intensive competition restricts the world-market for rival powers; for territorial expansion to relieve by colonization a painfully congested population with its consequent economic evils that breed a dangerous discontent; to restrain aggressions that threaten national industrial interests; to divert the minds of the masses and restore the spirit of solidarity when economic oppression at home impels to revolt; to protect the loans of large combinations of capital and the interests of powerful investment groups; to afford greater opportunity for graft, and from many similar motives.

War does not come as a culmination of irresistible influences and unavoidable incidents, as deceptive diplomats would have us believe. It is the purpose and desire of governments to make war—offensive war—when economic advantage can be gained thereby. This is proved even by such a minor detail as official terminology. Otherwise, instead of a Department of War in irenic intervals, we would have a Department of Military Defense; or, better, a Department of National Safety. To go farther in consistency and suggest a Department of Peace, whose function should be to co-ordinate all the country's resources for avoidance of war, might appear as an ironic impugnment of the sincerity of the pacific pretensions of our lofty-minded statesmen.

To obtain the approval and necessary participation of the populace, in preparing for war rulers resort to certain specious pretexts. Whatever the auxiliary influences invoked, always and with unfailingly pro-

ductive results they appeal to the impulse of patriotism, alleging that the national honor has been assailed or that national rights have been violated; invariably providing a plausible *casus belli,* even to the extent of blowing up a battleship from the inside, or contriving the assassination of absentee citizens, or deliberately inviting disaster from a desired enemy.

In furtherance of militant designs, the war-spirit is aroused to an effective pitch by a skillfully conducted propaganda of race antagonism. Thus we have the hereditary mutual antipathies of Slav and Hun, Teuton and Gaul, Celt and Anglan, and so on throughout the entire range of ethnic division.

Perverted propaganda easily fashions and controls public opinion, because the average person is incapable of the process of actual thought; his mind merely receives impressions. He fails to find the logical relation of cause and effect. Not only is he unable to reason except in the most elementary fashion, but he lacks even reliable instincts; in this respect being inferior to brute creation.

Concerning this duplicity and deliberate perversion of the public psychology, even so conservative a journal as the *Saturday Evening Post* says editorially:

"Propaganda is slow poison, based on international envy, malice, ignorance, and hate. It has been an affair of government, directed by rulers and diplomats, iterated and reiterated by press and platform, and finally parroted by every fathead and bullhead until the national psychology is saturated with it. Its aim may be disguised as concern for the safety of the nation or cloaked under a desire to save an erring sister country, but the purpose of propaganda always is to foster hate and its end is war."

In our own United States, with their conglomerate citizenry, it is found advisable in the interest of domestic harmony to hold such methods in abeyance until the immediate occasion arises, when they are employed with an excellent efficiency.

For example, the courtly Castilians were a kindly people, meriting and receiving our most exalted es-

teem, until the Spanish-American War, when straightway a character of amazing atrocity was ascribed to them as a whole. They no longer were human, but were savage beasts spawned of monsters, fit only to be hunted down and slaughtered. Soon after the close of hostilities, however, a resumption of trade relations restored the Spaniards to their former altitudinous place in our admiration.

Likewise, our Mexican War—purely an adventure of conquest—transformed the Montezumans into a horde of super-demons; and continuously since they have been alternately saints or devils accordingly as the prospect of war approached or receded.

Prior to our participation in the World War, the Germans were entirely an excellent people and one of the most desirable elements of our national life. Simultaneous with such entry, they became the "unspeakable Huns," possessed of every diabolical attribute unto the utmost exhaustion of the possibilities of execration. With a return of a need for their votes and their commercial favor, their superior virtues again were discernible.

While the respective possession of governmental power and economic control by opposing parties wavered in the balance of war, the Russian bolsheviki were by turns bloodthirsty barbarians due for extermination or lofty patriots deserving recognition, according to the various vacillations of the commercial cat trying to decide which way it should spring.

When desirable for the purposes of war, imaginary blood-barriers are reared where no ethnic differences exist. So long as a third war with England was a perennial possibility, our school histories put the "bunk" in Bunker Hill with patriotic persistence, teaching the child to detest the Englishman as an international ogre and his government as the oppressor of all mankind. When military and economic alliance with England was formed we were arbitrarily commanded from official sources to regard the Englishman with an ardent affection and were forbidden to speak ill of the British government under penalty of imprison-

ment. With the severance of that alliance there was a renewal of economic friction, and, with war-clouds again banking the horizon, the Englishman became once more an object of abomination.

In each of these instances the propaganda of hate proved highly convincing. The subsequent doctrine of economic forgiveness was equally profitable.

The record in this respect is the same in all wars. Human character alters, and human hate enlarges or diminishes, with changing economic interests. Men are angels or demons as the trade-winds shift the vane of our viewpoint.

From this it will be seen that race antagonism is a requisite of war, instead of war being a result of race antagonism. By the same evidence we perceive that the entire proposition is economic.

The causes that produce war and the propaganda of international hate are the same that produce anti-Semitism and the propaganda of race hatred. Not until these causes are removed will war and anti-Semitism cease.

The Jew might as well understand that he is at war with the rest of the world, with all its economic resources and social weapons pitted against him. He will triumph over these tremendous odds, because his victory is foreordained by the invincible law of righteous conservation.

While this war continues, however, the Jew must expect to remain in some measure a victim of the propaganda of hate, which in method and motive is not different from that employed in military warfare. His persecution, as heretofore, ostensibly will be based upon religious grounds, with the real reason carefully camouflaged. He will be pictured as the Anti-Christ, branded a Deicide, and, as such, a fit subject for immolation. The overshadowing symbol of the Cross still will obscure the skull-and-crossbones of the commercial buccaneer.

This blood-feud will end and racial peace be established only with the advent of an equitable social system whereunder the Jew will be recognized for what

he truly is—an economic benefactor instead of an economic enemy.

In that blessed day of irenic birth Israel's immortal message will be translated understandably for all the tribes of men, from the inhabitants of earth's proximate and most populous centers to the children of the islands of the utmost purple seas.

SOCIOLOGIC FUNCTION OF THE JEW

REGARDING the Jew's place in the work of world-reconstruction, I am constrained to present as a curious exhibit a magazine article of mine written in 1904, entitled, "Sociologic Function of the Jew." It is a casual composition, hastily written, without preparation, as an emergency "filler," and bears abundant evidence of immaturity; yet, in the light of today it appears strangely prophetic. While I would not now write quite in such fashion, I have not revised my opinions except in detail and have not departed far from early essentials.

My sense of relative values has strengthened with the years. I now can see that the spiritual significance of Judaism is more than the utilitarian importance of the Jew. The Jew is to be esteemed because and to the extent that he personifies Judaism.

Concerning the problem of Zionism I am not at present so confident. The impracticality of the movement does not appear to me quite so unquestionable. I am not prepared to say even that I am not pro-Zion. Certainly I now would write with less of the cocksureness of youth. I had then given the matter no serious attention; it will be noted, in fact, that I had but a vague notion of what Zionism might mean. At best, the presentation of the subject is one-sided. In subsequent chapters I shall go into the proposition more extensively, giving both its pros and its cons.

This article elicited wide comment in the Jewish press, which generally characterized it as "remarkable." At that time my views were regarded as novel and radical, but they since have been adopted by so many writers that they have become familiar almost to the point of being commonplace. The article is here given for what it may be worth:

"Zionism, as it presents itself to me, is a beautiful

but a barren dream. It is the noble conception of a splendid sentimentalist, born from the grand brain and nursed in the great heart of Theodor Herzl, and well calculated to inspire the imagination of a people that has cherished through the centuries its imperishable ideals. It is the flower of a mighty love that never can know a momentary fruition.

"Factiousness indicates infallibly the weakness of any cause. At present the house of Zion is so hopelessly divided against itself that it is most difficult to determine what is the purpose of the movement.

"Ostensibly the object of Zionism is to afford a sanctuary for refugees of the Hebrew race who flee from the gentle barbarisms of their Christian brethren. This is to be done by colonization in specially acquired territory.

"Leaders of Zionism delude themselves into the belief that such is their purpose. But in subconscious depths of their being stirs the deathless dream of national rehabilitation, of the return of the Jew to his own, of the restoration of Israel's ancient power and glory. The Jew is true to his traditions—he is unable to shake off the shadow of the past. The Judean never yet has relinquished the hope that some day shall see once more his towering temples rise by Jordan's storied stream.

"Were not renationalization in fulfillment of prophecy the hope and purpose, why should the Unpromising Land of exhausted possibilities be considered as fit territory for colonization? What is there about the barren hills and impoverished plains of Palestine to tempt the Jew thither? Rather would he turn his longing eyes toward some virgin land whose undeveloped resources offer a fit field for the exercise of his industrial genius.

"Have the promoters of Zionism reckoned fully the results? The 'Scattered Nation'—scattered before the blasts of persecution as autumn leaves are driven by winter's harshest winds—never more may be congregated. The Jew is essentially a citizen of the world, intimately identified with the life of every civilized

nation. He can not be divorced from his destiny. Colonization would mean the gathering of the ignorant and depraved and incompetent into one great ghetto. Removed from the saving influence of the cultured element, retrogression inevitably would result. The leaven of the best in any race is necessary to enable the masses to rise.

"Zionism as an accomplished fact would mean a turning back of the hands on the dial of human development.

"Colonization is an archaic idea, not consistent with the integrities of modern civilization. It is a sociologic anachronism in this day of world intercourse and national interdependence. Instead of building new walls, we should demolish the barriers that yet remain.

"It now is too late to establish a sanctuary for any persecuted people. Before the aim could be accomplished, the last suggestion for such a need will have disappeared. Civilization is making forced marches, and the vestige of human savagery that now scourges the Jew will vanish very soon. Society is preparing to protect its weakest and most inconsequent member.

"There is no need of colonization so long as the sun rises on this continent. The gate of America stands wide ajar, and here the door of opportunity is forever open. Here is room for all refugees, and a welcome for every Jew. Here, escaped from the barbarity of the East that has bruised and brutalized him, he will come into the Promised Land of a greater progress and find the Canaan of a wider culture.

"Another instinctive influence is back of this colonization scheme. The Jew is loath to lose his distinctive identity. He wishes to remain a social integer. Stronger than all else is his impulse to perpetuate his religious exclusiveness and his racial insularity. He desires to escape dissemination in the social body. Intermarriage is increasing rapidly, and he sees his blood that for ages has run in a single channel now mingling with the common tide in the veins of the world even as the waters of a river flow into the sea.

"But the Jew can not dodge 'manifest destiny.' He is powerless to escape the fate of amalgamation. His function is the most glorious ever vouchsafed to any race, and vindicates the proud claim of the Chosen People. His mission, involuntary though it be, is to unify humanity and bring about the broader brotherhood. There is a luminous signifiance in his hard and pathetic history. In view of his character and capacities, the persistent persecution to which he has been subjected through the ages can be accounted for only on the theory of cosmic conservation fitting him for his destiny. Crushed by the hand of hate to a cohesion never known to another race, his strong and superior fiber will run like an enduring thread through the endless serial of a thoroughly amalgamated humanity. And it is meet that the character which has evolved from the bitterness of his suffering should be a pillar in that strong new structure of a universal race. In the refining process that accompanies amalgamation, it is philosophical to suppose that his faults (which are not few) will largely be lost, while his virtues will survive in their fullness to grace the character of the composite human type.

"The Jew is by no means a paragon. He has his proportionate share of undesirable qualities. But to that Wedding of the World from which is to be born the Coming Race, he will bring a dowry not to be despised.

"In almost every field of human endeavor the Jew excels. There is a philosophic reason for this which has no relation to essential superiority. The Jew is *thorough*. He is so as a result of long necessity. The world vainly has sought to deprive him of the means for existence. He was quick to understand that with merely equal merit he could not hope for an even chance. He perceived that his only promise of survival under the handicap of race lay in superior qualifications. He applied himself. He learned to master difficulties and surmount obstacles. Discounted by prejudice, he realized that his work must carry a premium of value in order to reach parity in the open

market. As the problem grew more difficult his capacities increased proportionately, for Nature responds unfailingly to every demand of Necessity.

"Thus has the Jew evolved to excellence, and worthy will be his contribution to the character of the New Race.

"The amazing vitality of the Jew is his chief virtue when we consider his sociologic function, for it is needed to vitalize the rest of the world. Other races, less ancient, have risen and ruled and perished and passed from the memory of man. But the Jew, with a tenacity that tends to prove his mighty mission, has survived every struggle and clung to all that he claimed as his own.

"Not only has he survived, but he has triumphed. His greatest victory is his self-vindication. His virtues also have survived. Robbed the world over with ruthless hand, and deprived to all possible extent of the privilege of acquiring wealth, today he holds the treasure-keys of every land. And whoever masters the world's finances is potential master of that world itself.

"No humiliation ever put upon the Jew has humbled his pride of race. Never has he forgotten his faith that he is of the Chosen People; and always has he been sustained in his tremendous trials by the promise of deliverance in his Lord's good time. This faith, this promise, have held him steadfast to his destiny.

"In this pride of race rests the hope of the world; but a hope that can not reach its realization until the Jew neither proudly proclaims nor makes cowardly denial of his blood, caring not that he is a Jew but content that he is a *man;* yet respecting his blood enough to regard it well wherever he meets it—and meeting it everywhere.

"In this clannishness of the Jew, engendered by ages of persecution, we find the philosophy of conditions that appear to us as cruel. His has been but a preparatory experience. The strongest bond of brotherhood in the world today is that of Jewish blood. It is the red badge of a freemasonry founded on a community of suffering, and its ritual is written large upon

each heart in letters of pain. And this it is that at last will weld the world together. With the infusion of Jewish blood into the universal social body—a blood become so distinctive that it will tincture the whole vast volume—men will meet from the ends of the earth and, looking each in the other's face, will recognize a clansman.

"This is the destiny reserved for the Jew—this is his sociologic function—to break down the barriers of race that partition society into nations, and give to the world a homogeneous humanity."

PREJUDICE AND PERSECUTION

AS a logical corollary, race prejudice finds its active expression in persecution.

Almost from his first appearance in history the Jew has been subject to persecution. In the elder years martyrdom was the daily bread of his race, oppression was his apprenticeship to life; and still he sups on sorrow and drinks the bitter wine of tears.

It is a peculiar fact concerning a peculiar people that hostility toward the Jews is not confined to any time or any locality or any class; it has existed in all ages and in every land, manifested by men of different races and divers religions, alike by the crude and the cultured. It is displayed even by other Semitic peoples, notably the Arabs.

The intensity of early social prejudice against the Jews is shown in Genesis, xliii:32, where it is recorded: "The Egyptians might not eat bread with the Hebrews; for that is an abomination unto the Egyptians."

Jews have been publicly anathematized by a numerous tribe of anti-Semites, from Juvenal and Tacitus down to the bitter little bigots of today; from Haman to Henry Ford.

The history of the Jews is a transcendent tragedy—the Iliad of race immolation. Their existence has been a perpetual struggle against extinction. From cradle to coffin they have been subject to persecutions such as no other people ever suffered and survived. They have been harried and harassed and hampered in every conceivable manner. They have encountered every impediment to their activities and every obstacle to their progress. They have endured every oppression, from the cruel inquisitions of individuals to the crushing tyranny of nations. They have been proscribed

and plundered, exploited and imprisoned, exiled and enslaved. For them was created the Pale, within which they were confined as in a pinfold. They have known all tortures and terrors; they have been scorched by the flames of fanaticism and broken on the wheel of bigotry. They have faced the madness of the mob and found relief from its barbarities in the red mercy of massacre. And why?

For the reason that these enmities are universal, we must conclude that such widely distributed effects result from common causes, and that these causes reside largely within the Jew himself. No other race being thus marked for uniform malice, we can account for this unique unanimity of hate only on the hypothesis that the causes thereof are inherent in Israel. In most cases the causes of race prejudice are multifarious. Ordinarily, these causes are biological, religious, political, lingual, geographical, psychic, and economic. All these factors enter into the prejudice against the Jew; but as he is the object of a special animosity, we should search also for a special cause. Let us drop a raisin of analysis into the varied ingredients and note the result.

The most common pretext for persecution of the Jew is religious. It also is the safest, being sure of very general approval. Most persons find it difficult to forgive those who differ from their religious faith, and they see a holy justification for punishing the heretic. Some centuries ago it was charged by persons desirous of founding a new religious sect that the Jews had slain the Christ. This libel hardened into legend, then was invested with a halo and became history. Many early rulers found it a most effective political issue. Their successors turned it to economic advantage.

Hatred of the Jew, however, does not depend upon the historical fiction that he crucified Jesus. That merely is an expedient for inflaming the minds of the masses whenever it is desirable to incite them against the Jews.

If Jews are persecuted for religious reasons, why

is it that such persecutions invariably take an economic trend?

Antagonism to Jews antedates the Christian Era, and during that era it has not been confined to Christian nations. They have been persecuted with nonsectarian impartiality by the Egyptians, Assyrians, Babylonians, Persians, Syrians, Greeks, Romans, Arabs, Turks, and many others. Even the colossal effrontery of a Billy Sunday might hesitate to connect the crucifixion on Calvary with the Babylonian captivity under Nebuchadnezzar II., 586 B. C.

Political considerations also often are responsible for persecution of the Jews. Conditions resulting from abuses of government are charged against them and credited by an ignorant and a credulous populace, who thereby are placated toward their tyrant. In old Russia this was a favorite device for diverting the spirit of revolt from the rulers and directing it toward the Jews.

The Jew frequently is persecuted because of certain qualities of mind and character, but this fact, as we shall see, should not cause him to esteem himself less excellently.

Race enmity is not engendered by superiority of the enemy. Superiority tends always toward tolerance. Inferiority invariably hates superiority. I am unwilling to admit, however, inferiority to the Jew of the Aryan race. Possibly my instinctive *race-consciousness* prevents my doing so. Of *race-pride* I have none; nor have I reason for such pride more than has my race reason to be proud of me. The Aryan race is what it is without help of mine, so why should I pride in its achievements? Moreover, my race has done so many things of which I am ashamed, that I am disposed toward humility.

While denying any general superiority of the Jew over Aryan peoples, it must be conceded that he surpasses them in certain special qualities and endowments, even as he is surpassed by them in certain others. For example, the ethics of the Jew are superior, and he excels in mental alertness. It is for these

special excellences he is hated, and not for any general race characteristics.

We find many specific instances of this envy-inspired hatred. For example, Jews excel in music, which accounts for Wagner's amarulent attack upon them in his "Judaism in Music."

Another prolific cause of prejudice against the Jew is a distinctiveness that makes the non-Jew conscious always of their differences. His marked unlikeness causes dislike. Invariably those who are unlike are regarded as inimical to the interests of those to whom they are dissimilar. The Jew makes the mistake of perpetuating Orientalism in the Western World.

The mental fellowship that makes for understanding also is lacking. Men form no liking for mysteries; they distrust what they do not understand. Jew and non-Jew are psychic strangers; their viewpoints have no common focus, their modes of thought are alien. Between their respective intelligences is draped a veil impenetrable. The workings of the Oriental mind are hidden from all the West except those few favored ones to whom it is given to see always the souls of other men.

The Jew must emerge entirely from the cramping chrysalis of Orientalism before he can enter into the fullness of Occidental freedom.

The Jew is hated also because of his ideals. They fail to fit into the Gentile scheme of things, and this prevents a complete social adjustment according to the Gentile method. Were these ideals wholly spiritual there would be no such difficulty, hence no hatred. But the Jew has an economic ideal, and all his ideals are interwoven and they interact. The Gentile has no economic ideal—only an economic idea. The solution is a universal ideal idea.

Again, the Jew evidences an aloofness and exclusiveness that is an unspoken claim of superiority and as such is a perennial challenge to Gentile egotism. As one writer has explained of the Jew:

"He intrenched himself behind the fences that had been erected around the Torah by Ezra and the first

scribes, later by the Pharisees, and the Talmudists, reformers of primitive Mosaism and enemies of the prophets. He isolated himself, not merely by declining to submit to the customs which bound together the inhabitants of the countries where he settled, but also by shunning all intercourse with the inhabitants themselves. To his unsociability the Jew added exclusiveness." Again: "At the time the serpent tempted Eve, says the Talmud, he corrupted her with venom. Israel, on receiving the revelation from Sinai, delivered itself from the evil; the rest of mankind could not recover. Thus, if they have each its protecting constellation, Israel is under the very eye of Jehovah; it is the Eternal's favored son who has the sole right to his love, to his good-will, to his protection, other men are placed beneath the Hebrew; it is by mere mercy that they are entitled to Divine munificence, since the souls of the Jews alone are descended from the First Man. The wealth that has come to the nations, in truth belongs to Israel, and we hear Jesus himself reply to the Greek woman, 'It is not meet to take children's bread and cast it unto the dogs.' (Mark, vii:27.) This faith in their predestination, in their election, developed among the Jews an immense pride. It led them to view the Gentiles with contempt, often with hate, when patriotic considerations supervened to religious feeling."

Thus, the Jew, by his own inherited attitude—a legacy so many not yet have renounced—is in no small measure responsible for Gentile animosity. It scarcely could be expected that the arrogant assumption of the Jews that they are the Chosen People—selected by Deity for special favor, instead of being set apart for a special mission—should be relished by other races. It is but natural that victims of Divine discrimination should discriminate against the beneficiaries of such partiality.

I would not have the Jew cease to be a Jew, but I would have him cease to isolate himself.

Effects in turn become causes to produce other effects.

Isolation is at once a cause and an effect of race prejudice. Cause and effect, by a series of reactions, create a vicious circle; isolation engenders prejudice, and prejudice generates isolation.

Gentile exclusion is a logical reaction against Jewish exclusiveness.

In order of objectionableness, next to the Jew who is offensively boastful of his blood comes the one who fain would conceal his racial identity. No man respects another who fails to respect his own origin. When one apparently is ashamed of such a thing, it is not strange that others should assume there is sufficient cause for shame. Clandestine Jews do more than any other class to destroy racial dignity, and effect more serious damage to race repute than does the entire horde of Judaphobes.

A type of Jew, by no means rare, who adds to the prejudice against his people is he who sycophantly affects a contempt for the traditions of his tribe. He ostentatiously orders pork in a public refectory as if thereby he were practicing a shining virtue that should command the commendation of all Gentile observers. Now, there is no essential merit in eating pork. Hygienically considered, of all meats it is least fit for human food. It is, of course, quite within the rights of the Jew to share the dietetic sins of the Gentile, but it were better he should do so unobtrusively and without obvious intent.

One major reason for prejudice against the Jews collectively is the fact that a certain limited and least desirable class is by the unenlightened public accepted as representative of the entire race. "Every Jew has been made responsible for the acts of every other Jew," says Madison C. Peters in "Justice to the Jew." As one anonymous Jewish writer so well has stated it:

"The fault or folly of one Jew is reflected in popular opinion on the Jews as a whole. Every Jew of evil eminence is taken as a type. A Jewish murder, a Jewish divorce, a Jewish embezzlement, a Jewish case of usury, even a particularly 'loud' costume or luxurious equipage, if the property of Jews, is imputed

not merely to the sinful agent, but to the Jewish community *en bloc.* There is a merciless argument from the particular instance to the general rule."

Thus in Israel do we truly find the "vicarious atonement."

The superior and sensitive Jew of today, instead of suffering for the "sins of the fathers" of departed generations, suffers for the sins of his brothers of the present generation. He is not so much prone to condone these sins as to deny their existence; and in this denial lies his own fault in the case.

Much of present prejudice against the Jew is traditional. Many non-Jews can give no reason for their dislike of the Jew other than that his nose is differently shaped! How philosophic is race prejudice that depends upon a fact of physiognomy!

The Jew is hated because he remains spiritually unconquered; stripped of all but his unbending pride, stubbornly still he bows to none except his God.

Once more, the Jews are persecuted because they are a minority unit. The majority impulse always is to crush minorities. A small minority always is hated, whether it be racial, religious, political, or social. This fact is proved by the early history of all religious sects, political parties, and social elements, which invariably are persecuted until they are strong enough to compel respect. Other minorities become majorities through growth or by fusion with the established majority, whereupon their persecution ceases; else they attain to proportions sufficient for self-protection. The Jews alone are an eternal minority of negligible number, therefore is their persecution endless.

Jewish prejudice, however, is basically economic; all its other dependencies are merely contributory and incidental, else are effects instead of causes.

The sovereign truth that in all the affairs of life all men are actuated fundamentally by the economic motive, fails of universal recognition because of the confusing fact that many other and lesser motives cross the greater or blend with it. Permit me to resort to simile in order to make clearer my meaning:

The general motive of a river is from its source to its mouth. The bulk of all floatable material cast into its channel is carried down-stream and discharged at the outlet, *but*—

There always is a but—an exception that may not prove the rule, but which does prove itself. You drop a chip into the stream and immediately it responds to the fundamental flow, but soon it may be caught in a cross-current that propels it to lodgment on the opposite bank. Just so are there countless cross-currents in human life that modify, color, and temporarily suspend the greater and more continuous economic impulsion.

In analyzing this problem, therefore, we should take into account these little cross-currents that make our existence the complex thing it is. For example, there is the sex urge, which at mating mood drives man entirely away from his economic interest. Then there are the various ideals that grip the votaries of propaganda, pulling them this way and that. And the whole combination and complication is further modified by the individual's own intelligence or lack thereof. For a proper understanding of this proposition we must embrace in its consideration the force of ideals, preconceived opinions, and many other minor influences that always are tainting or tinting both the strong surface drift and the mighty undertow of economic push and pull.

So, despite the number and nature of these incidental influences, I am on the solid rock of irrefragable accuracy when I assert that race antagonism is rooted in the soil of selfishness. The people we merely dislike we leave alone. Simple aversion leads to avoidance; but imperiled self-interest impels to violent contact.

Jewish persecution is a result of the competitive system in industrial life, presenting the strange anomaly of a people being victims because they are the victors. The Jew's successful competition caused his suppression.

What purpose other than economic restriction do

we find in the Egyptian bondage, the Babylonian captivity, and the Roman subjection? We perceive the same motive in modern pogroms.

The Egyptians were quite frank in such matters, following the example of their king, who said to them: "Behold, the people of the children of Israel are more and mightier than we: come on, and let us deal wisely with them, lest they multiply." (Exodus, i: 9, 10.) Then he put into operation his program of servitude and infanticide.

According to the Bible, the Egyptians specifically objected to the Jews because they were shepherds. At this distant day the economic connection of such objection is not clear, but its existence can not reasonably be doubted. Perhaps the Jews bade fair to dominate the meat and fleece markets. Whatever the cause of the feud, it was as surely economic as that of the range wars in our own West a double-decade ago, which marked the sheep invasion of grazing domains long sacred to cattle. Then the appellation "sheepman" became among cattlemen an epithet of ultimate reproach. Sheepherders were despised by cowboys to the same degree as was a rattlesnake, and they were quite as readily slain. The reason for this loathing had no least relation to the personal qualities of the herders, but was found in the fact that the sheep polluted the water supply and the multitude of their sharp hoofs in compact flock-formation destroyed the pasturage. Anyway, as a result of economic considerations the inferior caste of the sheepman was forever fixed and his assassination became a popular pastime. The Jew himself never was for a similar cause so fiercely reviled or so relentlessly persecuted.

Here we may observe how excuses for race prejudice vary with different periods. The Pharaoh's subjects objected to the Jews because of their pastoral pursuits; we of today complain that they confine themselves almost exclusively to commercial activities and shun agronomy. Thus are men consistently inconsistent where their economic interests are concerned.

The truth is that Hebrew prosperity attracts hostility. The Jew's greater ability to achieve practical success engenders envy and arouses antagonism. The Gentile is not a good loser in the commercial game, so is he disposed toward race prejudice when he finds his own wit no match for the algebraic cunning of the Hebraic brain.

The rising tide of anti-Semitism is synchronous with the rise of Jewish financiering and industrialism.

The character of the civil disabilities imposed upon the Jews is sufficient evidence that these were selected with a view solely to special economic effect.

Originally a pastoral people, the Jews prospered in agriculture, wherefore were they forbidden to own land or occupy tillable soil. Thus early was protection afforded the farmer. Penned within the Pale, force of necessity made the Jews traffickers; and they projected their prosperity into commercial callings. Then they were prohibited from engaging in retail trade. In many countries they were not allowed to hold public office or enter any civic service. Even in colonial America they were not permitted to conduct retail shops or be employed in any civic capacity. The common council of New York City decreed that the Jews should not be privileged to indulge their form of worship. This soon was seen to be a tactical error, however, as it was to the economic advantage of their Gentile competitors for the Jews to observe their religious forms by closing their places of business Saturdays. So this restriction was repealed in the libeled name of Liberty of Conscience.

Here we see the reason for Christians discarding the original Sabbath and adopting Sunday as their holy day of rest. Despite the lure of trade, devotion to the Decalogue would cause orthodox Jews to suspend commerce of Saturdays, when their custom would go to Christian marts; while the Gentiles, by virtue of their numerical supremacy, could compel Sunday closing by Jews.

The learned professions also were legally closed to Jews when they outclassed Gentiles therein. In this

country at this time they are not barred from the higher vocations by statutory law, but they are excluded to a considerable extent by the law of prejudice. By constitutional right the Jew is eligible to high public office equally with the Gentile, yet we know how impossible it would be for a Jew to be elected president of the nation. Would he be defeated because of religious prejudice? Not at all! Deism of the members of other races does not disqualify them for this office. Taft, a Unitarian, was elected chief executive without the question of his religious affiliation being raised. The Jew is ineligible solely because he is a Jew. It is difficult even for a Jew to acquire a seat in Congress, however excellent his qualifications; few states have had a Jewish governor, and only one Jew, Oscar S. Straus, has held a cabinet office. We all can remember the bitter resistance to confirmation of the appointment of Louis D. Brandeis to the United States Supreme Court, although his mental equipment and legal attainments qualify him above all other members for a place in that august assemblage.

The simple fact of the Jew's racial affiliation disqualifies him in Gentile eyes for any public preferment that a Gentile may covet. It is the Jew's misfortune that he has the habit of "making good" to a conspicuous degree. Successful competition in the public service is not less difficult than in business pursuits. The Jew's administrative ability, if allowed exercise, is as much a menace to the economic interests of aspiring Gentiles as is his commercial capacity. Therefore is he restrained.

It being a known truth that several races equal and some exceed the Jews in commercial genius, why is there special economic discrimination against the latter? The answer is, their solidarity. They are more than a race—they are a family. This solidarity—the strength of the pack—gives them an immense economic advantage, and a success quite disproportionate to any possible superiority. The Gentile is prone—and properly, perhaps—to question the justice of such advan-

tage; not realizing that Jewish solidarity is born of protective necessity.

The policy of economic exclusion leads to social ostracism.

Class solidarity, in whatever segment of the social microcosm it may appear, produces certain invariable effects. Thus, when in schools cliques (this aside from high-school sodalities and college fraternities, which exclude Jews entirely) are formed by pupils with similar interests, tastes, and objectives, those not admitted to association combine to combat the membership of such coteries. This action is based upon the assumption that all organization is for purpose of co-operation that affords to its participants special advantages, to the consequent disadvantage of individuals not so favored. The same is true in larger society. This is the crux of the problem of Jewish persecution. The solution is to substitute for innumerable circles that universal co-operation which is bespoken in Israel's idea of an all-inclusive brotherhood. Consolidation of interests and extension of co-operation is the tendency in modern industrial organization, wherein its successful operation justifies the belief that the plan can be applied with equal effectiveness to the body social.

Racial discord will not cease until the Jew puts himself into harmonious relation to the rest of humanity.

SOLIDARITY AND EXCLUSIVENESS

WHAT is Jewish solidarity, that tremendous and tenacious thing—inarticulate, persistent, intangible—which makes the Jews, a national nonentity, the greatest unorganized force in the world?

This sentiment of solidarity—this strange, inorganic thing of dynamic potency—unlike any other race-spirit in the world—was not created by the Jews themselves. Originally the most factious of peoples, their tribes were distracted by internal dissensions until extraneous pressure brought them so closely together that there was not elbow-room sufficient for family fighting. A common protective need forced them to think in terms of unity and to act in effective concert. Israel and Judah became one.

The hand of hate that sought their destruction simply crushed the Jews to the cohesion of an invincible race solidarity.

Thus, in devising the downfall of the Jews, the Gentiles unwittingly fashioned for themselves a Frankenstein's monster.

In no other people is race-consciousness so emphatic or so enduring. Even when a Jew ceases to be a Jew in the religious sense he continues to be a Jew in the national sense.

This confraternity is the most powerful influence in the material life of Israel. For any needful occasion it obliterates the circling lines of caste, leaving only the limitations of racial circumference. In any matter affecting one of his people, in the Jew of whatever social circumstance, race-consciousness unfailingly rises superior to class-consciousness and demonstrates a supreme blood solidarity.

It is fortunate that discrimination against the Jew is universal, that no class is immune from such injustice. Otherwise, those whose wealth absolves

them from direct and active persecution would sever the bond that unites them to their lowlier brethren, the ancient solidarity would dissolve, community of interest would disappear, race-consciousness would evaporate, and the mission of Israel would fail of fulfillment.

In justice to the Jews it should be said that their solidarity always has been defensive, never offensive. Yet the inevitable result is to arouse resentment in others, for the reason that they constitute a mutual benefit society of limited membership.

The Jew has been preserved by persecution. When the pressure of persecution shall be entirely removed, the cohesion of crystallization—racial unity—will cease.

Jewish solidarity will pass with the passing of the necessity for it.

Perhaps a faint realization of this fact has caused the Jew to cherish his chains. Sometimes it seems he has a morbid wish that the martyrdom of his race should not end. It may be that he fears emancipation spells extinction. In this he is not wholly unwise. Those that are not free have something to strive for in common in attaining freedom; those that enjoy freedom have something to work for in common in freeing those of their fellows that still are enslaved. Thus, by community of effort is solidarity indefinitely sustained. Ray Stannard Baker writes that Rabbi Maurice H. Harris once said to him: "The Jew always has survived persecution; will he be able now to survive emancipation?"

In a letter from a Jewish friend, a well-known literary man, he says: "You could kill Judaism in the United States in a hundred years by blocking immigration and admitting the Jews now resident here into the best society, clubs, and the like."

It is a fact for thoughtful consideration that race interest diminishes with the diminution of race persecution, while any access of anti-Semitism invariably quickens the racial consciousness.

Admirable as is race-consciousness in many of its

manifestations, it has its unfortunate aspects. One of these is the passionate propensity to defend Jewish criminals regardless of their deserts. It is true that Jewish criminals are relatively rare, but these few should impartially be subject to the same penalties as are Gentile malefactors. Indeed, respectable Jews should be the more zealous for punishment of such offenders, and first to aid in purging society of their presence, because of their being a blot on the good repute of the race.

Take the Leo M. Frank case as an example. I do not presume to pass upon the merits of that case. I do not know whether the accused man was guilty or innocent. What I do know is that he was defended by countless Jews, not because he was innocent, but because he was a Jew. The circumstances were such that unbiased and uninformed persons reasonably might assume that the evidence justified Frank's conviction. The South always has been highly hospitable toward the Jew. The trial took place in a state where, until that time, Jewish prejudice had been at a minimum, and the immediate locality was especially tolerant. Nowhere, with the possible exception of England, do Jews enjoy greater general prestige than in Georgia. They are among the oldest families of the state. One of the emphasized facts of colonial history is that the first white child born in Georgia—Isaac Minis—was Jewish. Many members of the original Oglethorpe colony were Jews, and the names of Ribero, De Lyon, Ottolenghi, Sheftall, and others were made illustrious by distinguished public services. A Jew, David Emanuel, was governor of Georgia as early as 1801, and Emanuel County is named in his honor. There was no known motive for giving Frank other than exact justice. Yet thousands of Jews throughout the country who knew nothing of the evidence, entered blindly upon an impassioned crusade in Frank's behalf. With the object of obtaining his release, there was operated a propaganda of proportions greater than any other ever organized except for purposes of war. The press, ever acutely sensitive to the wishes

of its big advertisers, responded hysterically to the demands of the defense—an indirect form of wholesale subsidization. The results were helpful neither to Frank nor to the Jewish race. The former perished miserably at the hands of a mob that felt the ends of justice had been defeated when the governor commuted a death sentence to life imprisonment, and the latter was suspected of desiring immunity from the law for Jewish felons. The purpose may have been laudable, but the tactics were lamentable. The chief effect was aggravation of race antagonism.

Another instance of the kind is the case of the three Jewish gunmen of New York who were executed in 1913 for the murder of the gambler Rosenthal. They confessed their crime. There were no mitigating circumstances. Their offense was especially heinous. They were professional killers for profit—hireling assassins, who slew coldly and sordidly. Yet every effort was exerted by Jews to save these bloody thugs from the consequences of their crime, even to a delegation of rabbis calling upon the governor of the state at the last hour with a plea for clemency—solely because they were Jews.

I am one of those who oppose capital punishment, believing it to be a barbaric wrong—a sociologic crime—inconsistent with every concept of civilization. But as long as the death penalty is imposed it should apply to Jew and to Gentile alike. Otherwise, the Jew of anti-social tendencies becomes a licensed law-breaker, a privileged murderer—a most un-Jewish thing.

A man on trial for crime is not necessarily innocent because he is a Jew. I could more easily be convinced by the evidence than by the fact of race. It scarcely is becoming to cry "Persecution!" every time a Jew is enmeshed in the net of the law. The disposition to do so doubtless is a survival of the day when Jews in large number were falsely accused. There no longer is reason for taking their innocence for granted.

This over-emphasized race-consciousness is a strong factor in antagonism toward the Jew. Also, it can

not but prove prejudicial to other Jews charged with crime, and nullify to some extent the efforts of their coreligionists in behalf of those wrongfully accused.

Of course, there is no actual desire on the part of worthy Jews to shield crime or shelter criminals. Their attitude in these matters is prompted by an over-development of the praiseworthy protective impulse of a long-persecuted race that in the past has known for its members but little of even-handed justice.

Self-isolation is easily explained. The natural gregariousness of the Jews was greatly accentuated when they were huddled within the Pale, so that now they instinctively gravitate toward the ghetto, where they shelter themselves in collective solitude.

Nor is this condition peculiar to the lower class. The higher circles of Jewish society are but sublimated ghettos. Fashionable Jews have their own clubs, cloistered against Gentiles, and their exclusive social functions.

Even in Masonry, where, theoretically, is no distinction or discrimination of caste or creed, I have heard my Jewish brothers refer to their lodge as a "Jewish lodge," the members thereof being exclusively Jewish. This exclusiveness is entirely a matter of choice, Jews being welcomed in any lodge of the order.

Now former war-service men are organizing Jewish Veterans Posts of the American Legion. The Great War did little indeed for democracy if it failed to obliterate discriminative racial lines among comrades-at-arms.

This social segregation produces in the Jew an intellectual insularity that makes for irreconcilable separatism in all the processes of living. With no point of mental contact, there can be no understanding by any people of the mind-operations of another; and without such understanding at the motive source there can be no harmony of action. As Dr. David Philipson puts it:

"The Jew, shut up within the ghetto gates, gradu-

ally became also intellectually ostracized from the thought-currents in the world without. The visible material ghetto had as its concomitant the imperceptible intellectual ghetto.''

The present aloofness of the Jew is in part a remnant of the time when a prescribed costume marked him as a social outcast. His instinctive sensitiveness is analogous to that of the ex-convict, who, even if guiltless of crime, when stripped of his stripes still shrinks from contact with the society that has scorned him.

It would be better with the Jew were he less retrospective. In the living present, with its insistent demands for action and accomplishment, it profiteth not to treasure old wrongs and cherish past sorrows. The Jew should turn from the dark night of the past and set his face toward the Morning Star.

What the Jews once did by compulsion they now do from choice, else from habit. Under compression they formed a communal concretion that is difficult of disintegration for intermingling with the social mass.

Let us consider the causes of the Jew's present social discomfort and find if we can wherein the fault may in a measure be his own.

Wherever the Jew exists he is a minority, and instead of accepting philosophically the social and political limitations consequent upon this fact, he chafes impotently at his numerical inferiority.

Any minority social element should, for its own well-being, to whatever extent is possible and consistent with personal sincerity, put itself in harmony with its environment.

So long as the Jew persists in being a foreign substance in the social optic he will remain a source of irritation and an object of attempted removal.

Or, to vary the physiological figure, as an unassimilated element in the body communal he engenders social indigestion and the various functional derangements that accompany such dyspepsia.

The process of social reduction is as consistent

and inexorable as that of physiological reduction. Back of Gentile objection to Jewish non-conformity is the imperative need that impels all societies to reduce to congruence their dissimilar elements.

One of the bitterest complaints by the Jews is that the aggregate race is judged by its least admirable specimens; these, of course, being the more noticeable because of their protrusive obnoxiousness. This complaint is as well founded as its cause is easily explained. It is much the same as when one of a respectable family becomes a notorious criminal; being its only member of public record, he makes the family reputation. Also, the black sheep always is conspicuous among the flock.

So long as the Jews preserve their racial unity they can not hope to be regarded as individual units.

Until this rigid race consolidation is broken up, the Jews will continue to suffer from uniform judgment; and their worst representatives, by reason of their greater conspicuity, will remain the only standard of appraisal. Other peoples, because of their mass fluidity, are accorded recognition of class variation and enjoy the advantage of individual valuation, while the Jews are classified as a whole.

The Jews are a rejected race because they do not enter into the social ensemble. They are in the common life, but are not of it. They impinge upon the perspective, but are not a part of the picture.

Of the Jews it appositely has been said that, "like the Gulf Stream, they remain apart from the ocean around them."

They insist upon emphasizing their racial singularity. They consider themselves above and beyond all other peoples and exempt from the customs of the community of which they are so small a numerical part. One of their own blood, the philosopher Spinoza, has said:

"It is not at all surprising that after being scattered for so many years they have preserved their identity without a government of their own, for, by

their external rites, as well as by the sign of circumcision, they have isolated themselves from all other nations, even to the extent of drawing upon themselves the hate of all mankind."

Why should the Jews of today metaphorically immure themselves in an isolation hospital as if they were infected with a social plague? Why quarantine themselves against the rest of humanity as if they were a race of lepers? Such segregation only serves to intensify the problem and further remove its solution.

So long as action is followed by reaction, an inevitable result of exclusiveness will be exclusion.

Whatever the first causes of Jewish solidarity and exclusiveness, certain it is that at the present stage of development neither side is wholly to blame for its perpetuation. Both practice dissociation and each complains of the offense in the other. Unless we cease blaming each other and endeavor to correct our own respective faults, we shall continue to run in a vicious circle of race suspicion and separation. We can remedy this situation only by a mutual attitude of conciliation, tolerance, and fraternalism.

It is inconsistent that the Jew, himself practicing exclusion, should complain when excluded. So long as it pleases him to place himself apart, he should be content with his isolation.

This exclusiveness of the Jew leads the ignorant of other races into egregious error. To their mistaken minds, solidarity is synonymous with conspiracy. In close voluntary segregation they see secret plottings, where only is co-operation.

In truth, it is fruitful of economic friction.

With the Jew's superior mental equipment, together with his racial co-operation, the Gentile is at a hopeless disadvantage in commercial contest unless he imposes upon his competitor an economic handicap as an equalizer. This he does, and will continue to do as long as the Jew remains a distinct racial identity. This the Jew resents, and the resentment becomes mutual. Amalgamation is the only ultimate remedy

for this reciprocal antagonism, whatever palliatives may be advisable to prescribe for the present.

The only choice presented to the Jew is that between amalgamation—not necessarily blood amalgamation, but social amalgamation surely—and continued exclusion. This is not a condition arbitrarily imposed upon him by Gentile exaction, but an edict of natural law.

Even this choice may not remain to him indefinitely. The Chinese Wall was broken down, and the Jewish Wall of exclusiveness can not endure eternally.

The Jew is undergoing the inevitable process of universal change. Free intermingling will be followed by fusion. He will gradually be absorbed into his environment.

The trumpet-call of social progress will level the walls of the world's ghettos even as the walls of Jericho fell before the blasts of Joshua's rams' horns.

For complete race reconciliation there must be a point of contact between Jew and non-Jew. Conditions resulting from the Great War provide this point of contact. The interests of kindred races are vastly more interdependent than ever before. Continued isolation is a virtual impossibility. Co-operation is an absolute necessity. The whole world is being made over, and in this titanic task universal participation is indispensable. The next decade will witness a prodigious work of reconstruction such as this planet never has seen. Earth must pour forth its resources, and its peoples lend their last efforts. The recuperative powers of all civilization will be concentrated on retrieving the stupendous losses consequent upon the conflict. More, all the faculties of man will be strained to the utmost to make the emerging New Order more equitable and enjoyable than the one that is passing. In these leviathan labors Jew and Gentile will touch elbows and meet minds in a contact that never can be severed.

Race solidarity will be extended to a world solidarity.

MIXED MARRIAGES

MIXED marriages, I well am aware, is a subject of extreme disfavor with the majority of Jews. Yet it is one that demands attention with increasing insistency, and it can not wisely be ignored. Such marriages rapidly and steadily are multiplying, and the fact should be faced, by those concerned, with due regard for its social significance.

Advocacy of such alliances, while viewed with tolerance by the generality of Gentiles even when entire approval is not vouchsafed, always arouses vehement protest and opposition from representative Jewry.

Orthodox Jews insist that the promises of Isaiah and the injunctions of Ezra in the matters of separation and marriage with aliens are as valid today as at the hour of their utterance. Reform Jews, for the most part, are scarcely less uncompromising in their demand for a rigid enforcement of the rule of endogamy.

Why?

There is no biologic basis for such an attitude. On the contrary, there are important biological reasons why intermarriage is desirable. The objections legitimately urged against cross-breeding of two basic races do not apply to different branches of the same ethnic stem.

In explanation, I will say that hybridization is a violation of biologic law that always is drastically penalized. Nature's protest against the outrage is strikingly manifest in the lower animals, where prohibition is made effective by arresting the process of reproduction in the first generation of incompatible admixture. Witness the mule, offspring of the mating of horse with ass, which is deprived of the power of procreation. By this provision continued degeneration is prevented.

Human hybrids always are inferior to the pure-bred of the species. Hybrid offspring are inferior to either parent, however inferior the progenitors may be, apparently inheriting all the evil characteristics of both without any of the possible good.

The hybrid's brain is a battlefield where the warring instincts of antagonistic races fiercely and ceaselessly contend.

Thus, as a rule the "bad nigger" is a mulatto, while the full-blood black ordinarily is an inoffensive and a docile creature. The most desperate outlaws of the old Southwest were Indian half-breeds. It is the half-caste Malay that most often runs amuck and is so dreaded as a killer. In the East Indian mutinies the Eurasians proved more deadly than the natives of unmixed blood. The Chino-blanco is the most murderous of Mongols. The *mestizo* is largely responsible for the lawlessness of the Central and South American republics. In Mexico and along our southern border the degraded mongrel type known as "Greaser" is by his vicious characteristics sharply distinguished from either his Spanish or his Aztec compatriots of uncorrupted lineage.

Of course, in the case of hybrid progeny the type of parents usually is depraved and the social heritage consequently of the worst. The invariable result of such cross-breeding, however, can not wholly be explained except on the theory of purely biological effects.

Concerning the disastrous consequences of a blending of basic bloods, Herbert Spencer, in a personal letter to Baron Kentaro Kaneko, dated August 26, 1894, and published in the London *Times,* June 22, 1904, said:

"It is not at root a question of social philosophy. It is at root a question of biology. There is abundant proof, alike furnished by the intermarriage of human races and the interbreeding of animals, that when the varieties mingled diverge beyond a certain slight degree *the result* is inevitably a bad one in the long run. I have myself been in the habit of looking on

the evidence bearing on this matter for many years past, and my conviction is based on numerous facts derived from numerous sources.''

With due respect to Mr. Spencer's deductions, I make bold to take issue with that eminent sociologist on one point in the foregoing. I am unable to see how, in such cases, biological consequences can be dissociated from social philosophy, the two being so intimately interrelated.

Disinclination to concede social equality to inferior races is an instinctive safeguard against the calamity of miscegenation. This instinct is so strong and nearly universal that often it unconsciously is manifested in Caucasians so debased that no personal fastidiousness is present to deter them from this biological offense.

There is no biological incongruity, however, to forbid the mating of Jew and Aryan, such as restrains races of sharply divergent physical types. In other directions, their respective developments are so nearly balanced that there could be a venous confluence of perfect congeniality.

Is the Jew's resistance to intermarriage, then, due to religious differences?

If so, the fact bespeaks a narrowness inconsistent with Israel's broad pretensions and wholly unworthy of professed Jewish ideals. It invalidates Judea's claim to spiritual catholicity. When shall be realized that brotherhood of man of Israel's ancient dreaming if the first requisite to such fraternity is rejected without end? No other race in the world interdicts intermarriage on purely religious grounds. I can not believe this is the actual influence governing the Jewish attitude in the matter.

Is pride of blood the true reason?

A certain degree of pride in the most ancient of ancestries is pardonable, even commendable. It is an arrant absurdity, however, as is admitted by their own authoritative genealogists, to contend that the Jews have preserved in its pristine purity the blood of Abraham that runs back to the youth of the race in

the morning of the world. It is positively known that at different periods there has been a strong infusion of other strains.

Moreover, while a moderate pride of blood is permissible, arrogance of ancestry is contrary to the teachings of the Talmud, which says:

"Man was created one—single—to establish one common unit for the whole human race, that perfect harmony might prevail among all mankind, and that none should say to his neighbor, 'I came from a better stock than you.'"

Also, we have the declaration of that distinguished anthropologist, Alexander von Humboldt, that "there are no ethnic stems that are nobler than others."

What, then, is the answer to the Jew's resolute refusal to intermarry?

It is my conviction that the Jew's exceptions to exogamy are wholly traditional. In this particular, as in many others, he is fettered by dead fingers and chained to the post of the Past.

Let us now consider the manifest advantages of intermarriage.

While the biological consequences are bad in the cross-breeding of races of different basic blood, with those races that show no abrupt departure of physical types the results are positively beneficial. There can be no real racial differentiation in the divisions of any ethnic root; two Caucasian peoples, as Jew and Aryan, having a common parent stock, simply are different branches of the same family tree.

It is a recognized fact of eugenics that continued inbreeding debilitates. Cross-breeding of properly contrasted races imparts fresh constitutional vigor and improves the mental endowment. This blending of blood strengthens the strain immeasurably; for example, the ancient Hellenes.

The intensive intrabreeding practiced by Jews for centuries could not fail of evil effects. In many cases, owing to circumscribed communal life, Jewish marriages are so closely consanguineous as to perilously approach the incestuous.

It is well to examine the effects. Lest Jews take exception to the evidence, for precaution I present the testimony of a distinguished member of their own race, Dr. Maurice Fishberg, given in an article on "Eugenic Factors in Jewish Life," in *The American Hebrew*. As this article is of considerable length, for convenience I avail myself of its salient facts touching my particular point as epitomized for a newspaper feature by another non-Jewish writer, Dr. W. A. Evans, who also troubles to explain that "these comments on and criticisms of Jews are made by a Jew." As pertinent to my purpose I submit this excerpt:

"The Jews have a disproportionate number of mental defectives, idiots, and imbeciles. It is well known that a large percentage of neurasthenics and neurotics are Jews. In Europe, blindness, color-blindness, deaf-mutism, idiocy, and insanity are from two to five times as frequent among Jews as among Gentiles."

There is an infinite pathological pathos in this record, for Doctor Evans points out the further fact that, despite this excess of deficients, the Jews, an intellectually intensive race, "although comprising much less than 1 per cent of the world's population, furnish far more than 1 per cent of its genius, talent, and capacity."

It should be said that Doctor Fishberg attributes the condition he describes to dysgenic causes other than inbreeding; but in my opinion his theory fails fully to account for the anomaly.

The Jews are victims of a persistent violation of progenital principles that demand variety. The curse of consanguinity is upon them.

Fusion of Hebrew with Aryan blood generates, not only greater physical vitality and mental vigor, but also stronger character and a finer spiritual fiber, apparently conserving the cardinal virtues of both races.

In uninterrupted line-breeding seldom is the talent of either parent transmitted to the offspring. On the other hand, in cross-breeding of compatible races

the mental merits of both parents frequently are bequeathed to the progeny in fullest measure. Moreover, from such parents of comparative mediocrity sometimes come children of signal superiority, even as the combination of two indifferent chemical elements may produce a reaction with remarkable qualities.

This venous conflux of ethnic variants apparently works the alchemic wonder of golden transmutation. The contact of affinitive contrasts seems to strike forth the divine fire. Demi-Jews are among the world's most illustrious intellects.

Mating of that eminent Jewish tragedian, Junius Brutus Booth the elder, with a Christian produced a triple progeny that lent a surpassing luster to the American stage. Of this trio, the most renowned was Edwin Booth, the world's greatest *Hamlet.* As for his younger brother, John Wilkes Booth, although his memory is marred and his abilities are obscured by his tragic deed in Ford's Theater in Washington, he is reputed to have been the greatest genius of a family phenomenally conspicuous for its histrionic gifts. Another brother, Junius Brutus Booth, Jr., was scarcely less accomplished.

Among other remarkable geniuses resulting from such bi-racial breeding may be mentioned Jules Verne, the fantastic French fictionist; Sir John Everett Millais, English painter; Leon Gambetta, French statesman; Sir William Herschel, English astronomer and discoverer of the planet Uranus, whose only son, Sir John, rivaled the fame of his distinguished father; Sir Arthur Sullivan, the composer; Bret Harte, American poet, diplomat, and writer of pioneer western romance; Francis Turner Palgrave, the critic; Emile Zola, fictive realist; Gen. William Booth, founder of the Salvation Army; Dr. Friedrich Rosen, member of the present German cabinet, whose grandfather, Ignaz Moscheles, was the most brilliant piano virtuoso of his day; Sir James Eric Drummond, secretary-general of the League of Nations; Ben Turpin, motion-picture star, and Florence Reed, the great emotional actress, each of whom had a Jewish mother; Horace

Traubel, editor, author, critic, philosopher, and literary executor of Walt Whitman; Anatole France Jacques Thibault), foremost living French man of letters, and Alexandre Millerand, president of France. Michel de Montaigne, celebrated French essayist and philosopher, was the fruit of his father's marriage with Antoinette de Lopez, a Spanish Jewess. Lord Northcliffe (Alfred Harmsworth), the great English newspaper publisher and perhaps the most powerful personage in the British empire, is the great-grandson of a Jew named Stern from Frankfort-on-the-Main. Jorge Isaacs, the famous Colombian poet and novelist, was half Jewish, his father being an English Jew and his mother a Roman Catholic, the daughter of a Spanish naval officer. Mme. Marie Sklodowska Curie, discoverer of radium, is the daughter of a Polish Jew and a Christian mother, and was married to a Gentile, the distinguished Prof. Pierre Curie. Charles Lamb and Cardinal Newman are accredited with the "precious quintessence," as Du Maurier would say. It frequently has been stated that Gabriele d'Annunzio, the Italian poet-soldier, has Jewish blood, but this is not clearly established; although the fact that he is a devout Roman Catholic should not be ground for doubt. It also is asserted, with every appearance of authenticity, that the mother of Christopher Columbus was Suzanne Fonterosa, a Jewess.

Dr. Gotthard Deutsch contributes a considerable additional list of distinguished demi-Jews, the names in which he says were selected at random, and which he remarks is by no means complete.

"Beginning with statesmen of the highest rank," writes Doctor Deutsch, "we note Paul Hymans, president of the council of the League of Nations; Daniele Manin, dictator of Venice in 1848; Sidney Sonnino, former premier of Italy; Sir Henry Drummond Wolff, the son of a converted missionary, and next to him Lord Farrar Herschell, also the son of a missionary, who began his career as a Shohet in England and was a Polish Jew; Sir Hugh Eardley Cullins, member of Gladstone's cabinet and descendant of the

famous English financier, Samson Gideon; and Bernhard Dernburg, the former colonial secretary of Germany. Among poets and authors we find the German novelist and dramatist, Paul Heyse, the son of a Jewish mother; the English poet, Sir Henry Newbolt, grandson of Dr. Samuel Solomon; the Danish author, Peter Nansen; the French poets, Catulle Mendes and Ludovic Halevy, the latter the grandson of a German Hazen. Passing to the field of art, we have the German sculptor, Frederick William von Schadow, and his brother Rudolph. Of the eminent scientists we may name Prof. Elie Metchnikoff, next to Pasteur the world's greatest bacteriologist, whose grandfather, Lev Nevachevitch, was at one time an advocate of the rights of the Russian Jews. Heinrich Hertz, the physicist, who won immortal fame, although he died before he was fifty years old, was the grandson of a baptized Jew. Sir Robert Henry Inglis Palgrave, the historian, is the son of a man whose original name was Cohn. The great political economist of our country, Prof. Frank W. Taussig of Yale University, is the son of a Jewish father, and the Scandinavian discoverer, Sven Hedin, also is of partly Jewish descent. For the fun of the thing, it may be mentioned that one of the most popular writers of Christian hymns in German is John Spitta, the son of a Jewess, and the Roman Catholic church lately had an archbishop named Theodore Kohn, the son of a Jewish father, while Pope Anacletus II., in the twelfth century, was the great-grandson of a baptized Jew. It may not be to our credit, but it certainly is a proof of the flexibility of Jewish genius in intermarriage, when we point to Jacob Lainez, the second general of the Jesuit order, who, according to the Catholic Encyclopedia, was of Jewish extraction."

Many similar cases equally striking might be cited, but these suffice the purpose.

Among my own friends I have observed in several instances the fine fruitage of such racial grafting upon an alien stock. Never have I noted an indifferent issue from these unions.

Jews have married into many of the most distinguished families in America. August Belmont the elder was the husband of a daughter of Commodore Oliver Hazard Perry, and his son, O. H. P. Belmont, married a daughter of William H. Vanderbilt. Walter Damrosch, the orchestral leader, married the daughter of James G. Blaine. Ossip Gabrilowitch, the pianist, married Mark Twain's daughter. Mary Antin, who has achieved such signal success as a writer, is the wife of Prof. A. W. Graham of Columbia University. That eminent physician, the late Dr. Abraham Jacobi, married Dr. Mary C. Putnam. Joseph Pulitzer, who revolutionized American journalism with his New York *World,* married Kate Davis, a relative of Jefferson Davis; and his son, Ralph Pulitzer, married a granddaughter of "Commodore" Cornelius Vanderbilt, founder of the Vanderbilt fortune. Alla Nazimova, the noted Russian Jewish actress, is Mrs. Charles Bryant. Dr. S. E. Mendes, president of the College of the City of New York, is a brother-in-law of Edward M. House. Samuel Untermyer, the noted lawyer, married a Gentile. A daughter of the house of Fleischmann is the widow of the world-famous oculist, Dr. C. R. Holmes. Anna Held was the wife of Florenz Ziegfeld, Jr., the theatrical producer. Rose Pastor Stokes, a Russian Jewess of remarkable gifts, is the wife of J. G. Phelps-Stokes of the New York family of millionaire aristocrats. Janet Beecher, the actress, of the famous Beecher family of intellectuals, has a Jewish husband. Anna Strunsky Walling, magazine writer and co-author with Jack London of "The Kempton-Wace Letters," is the wife of William English Walling, author, lecturer, and sociologist. Ethel Levy, the brilliant Jewish actress whose art has captivated two continents, is naïvely described by Jack Lait as "the wife of a famous Gentile or two." Anglo-Hebraic families have united with some of the best blood of England, as well as with eupatrids of continental Europe. Hannah Rothschild was the wife of Lord Roseberry, so long an outstanding figure in the political life of Great Britain, who was a

nephew of the great Lord Salisbury. At least two American Jewesses have married into the British nobility: Mary Victoria Leiter, first consort of Lord Curzon, former viceroy of India and present British secretary of state for foreign affairs, and Eleanor May Guggenheim, who recently became the bride of Viscount Stuart, scion of "lang syne" Scottish royalty. Lady Curzon's brother, Joseph Leiter, of "wheat corner" fame, also married a Gentile. The former Mrs. Blanche Vogel, *nee* Siegel, of Chicago, is the wife of Marquis de Calvatore, counselor to the Italian embassy at Paris. Lysiane Bernhardt, daughter of Sarah Bernhardt, recently was married to M. Collin du Bocage, the popular French playwright, known professionally by the nom de plume of "Louis Verneuil." The second wife of Count Witte, Russia's first premier under the czar, was a Jewess. Doctor Borsky, a Bohemian Jew, ambassador from Czecho-Slovakia to the Italian court, married the daughter of President Mazaryk of the new republic. At this writing the engagement is announced of Miss Megan Lloyd-George, daughter of Britain's premier, to Sir Philip Sassoon. Many other instances of notable intermarriages could be mentioned.

Much of the most aristocratic blood in America has a Jewish admixture, for members of some of the proudest Gentile families of colonial and early post-Revolutionary days—notably the Van Rensselaers, the Schuylers, and the Clays—mated with Jews. Dr. Nicholas Schuyler, a surgeon in the Revolutionary War, friend of Washington and near relative of Gen. Philip John Schuyler, married an aunt of the beautiful Rebecca Gratz who was unsuccessfully wooed by Henry Clay. Other Clays found brides in the Gratz family, as did the Van Rensselaers and other Knickerbockers. Incidentally, an interesting bit of literary lore is that Rebecca Gratz, who never wedded, was the prototype of *Rebecca of York* in Scott's "Ivanhoe."

The London *Jewish Chronicle* asserts that in England intermarriage "is essentially a phenomenon of

the upper classes and is on the increase every day.'' This paper shows that as far back as 1905 in Berlin such mixed matings amounted to 45 per cent of the pure-blood marriages, while in Hamburg the proportion was 60.65 per cent, and adds: ''In other parts of Germany, also in Scandinavia, the same is happening, to a greater degree probably than in England.'' As in England, these continental marriages are mostly in the higher social circles.

James Russell Lowell, who probably gave closer study to the Jewish people and their problems than has any other non-Jewish man of letters, doubtless recognized the biological benefits and social advantages of an infiltration of Jewish blood, for, discussing the folly of anti-Semitism in his address on ''Democracy,'' he speaks of the Jews as ''a race in which ability seems as natural and hereditary as the curve of their noses, and whose blood, furtively mingling with the bluest bloods in Europe, has quickened them with its own indomitable impulsion.''

Another writer whose observations are worthy of respect, Thorstein Veblen, in a scholarly article in the *Political Science Quarterly,* notes the mental superiority of the Jewish hybrid and his ''contribution to the culture of modern Europe,'' and adds:

''The men of this Jewish extraction count for more than their proportionate share in the intellectual life of western civilization, and they count particularly among the vanguard, the pioneers, the uneasy guild of pathfinders and iconoclasts, in science, scholarship, and institutional change and growth. On its face it appears as if an infusion of Jewish blood . . . were the one decisive factor in the case. . . . Cross-breeding gives a wider range of variation and a greater diversity of individual endowment than can be had in any passably pure-bred population, from which results a greater effectual flexibility of aptitudes and capacities in such a people when exposed to conditions that make for change. In this respect the Jews are neither more nor less fortunate than their Gentile compatriots.''

This same writer opposes the common Jewish objection that the effect of extensive inter-racial marriage would be Israel's disintegration, saying: "Cross-breeding commonly results in a gain to the Jewish community, rather than conversely, and the hybrid offspring is a child of Israel rather than of the Gentiles."

So eminent a Jewish authority as Dr. Maurice Fishberg, in an address before the Congress of Eugenics in New York, advocated intermarriage as a means of race improvement and cultural advancement, declaring that "fusion can only prove beneficial."

The extreme extent to which deterioration may result from protracted inbreeding of sufficient intensiveness, and the rapidly regenerative effects as well as the salutary social consequences of cross-breeding, are strikingly exemplified in the mountain feudists of the South. Originally of excellent English stock, devolution through consanguineous marriage during successive generations had reduced these people to an inferiority reached by no other class in this country.

Of the same blood as the majority of the original colonists of the southern states, most of them even coming from the same shire in England, they nevertheless represented different social strata, some being of the commonalty while others were of distinctly aristocratic birth. As a result of these transplanted caste divisions of yeomanry and gentry, under the influence of a mountainous environment combined with social isolation due to topographical difficulties, families crystallized into clans imbued with all the ancient feudal feeling. A common environment insusceptible of change and almost an entire absence of intercommunication with other social groups, in time reduced the whole community to a common level of culture, but economic differences were preserved. The comparatively affluent became veritable overlords, while the less prosperous families virtually were retainers. Rivalry arose, followed by economic friction and an inevitable clash of clans. Sanguinary conflicts ensued, and these blood-feuds were perpetuated long

after their origin was lost in the mists of obscurity. In most cases they were caused by disputes over land boundaries, the hypothetical ownership of a hog, or some similar economic controversy. Eventually they were resolved to a struggle for political supremacy between the respective leaders, economic dominance in these detached communities depending mostly upon political control. Thus feudism became a recognized institution.

These feuds were continued with such deadly effect and equality of fatalities that it appeared they could end only with the extinction of both factions. Then an unexpected alternative, the incredible phenomenon of intermarriage, arose and proved a solution of the situation. Cupid matched his archery with the marksmanship of expert rifle-shots, and from the hand of Hymen fluttered the white flag of truce. Despite the objections of obdurate parents, there was mating of youths and maidens of hostile clans. With an increase of marriages, funerals became less frequent. The birth-rate soon exceeded the mortality reports.

So, the feuds were wiped out with blood—not the spilling of blood, but the fusion of blood. Clan rivalry ceased because there no longer were clans, but a consanguineal confederation. In a generation identified by blood-bonds, vendettas vanished. Commingled blood can not fight itself, and marriage merges economic interests as thoroughly as it unites individuals. Weddings are better than wars for settling disputes over domain boundaries; rifle-sights no longer served as a surveyor's transit, for acres joined by a family juncture need no line-fence. With a new blood-strain derived from love-unions, hereditary hatreds disappeared.

In these intermarriages there was no pacific design on part of the contracting parties. They resulted from social necessity. Each clan was so reduced in numbers by violence and diminished vitality that its surviving members were too closely related for sex attraction. Persistent inbreeding had extinguished the sex appeal, even though degenerate morals might

admit of incest. Instinct rebelled against extinction. It is too much to expect men and maidens to remain unmated while mating remains possible. Individual desire rose superior to clan spirit, and factions fused and human atoms coalesced in response to the most imperative of all impulses.

Many years ago, when the population still was militant, I studied conditions in this mountain country, and found them lamentable beyond language. Recently, for purposes of this paper, I investigated conditions among these former feudists, and found in a new generation an almost unbelievable improvement —mental, physical, moral, and social—which could be accounted for only on the grounds of cross-breeding of clans.

Although the analogy is imperfect and is limited to certain particulars, with the Jew it must be as with the mountaineer in the matter of ultimate sociologic destiny. The latter escaped extinction through intermarriage. Extinction of the Jew is a proved impossibility, but he can not escape intermarriage.

As they united warring clans into a peaceful composite, so weddings will weld rival races into a single family to dwell together in amity forever. The economic equation will automatically be adjusted, and racial rancor will be eliminated by evolution. Community of interests is the corollary of a commingling of blood; and self-prejudice can not exist.

Do not doubt that this will be so. Dictatorial conservatism, however it may inveigh against intermarriage, is impotent to control the impulses of youth or prevail against the promptings of the human heart. Stronger than the iron inhibitions of implacable elders is that yearning born beneath the Tree of Knowledge while yet the world was young. The love that "laughs at locksmiths" snaps its fingers at race prejudice no less than at clan conflicts. There is more than one god in Israel. Eros is a determined little deity and will not be denied.

Marriage of Gentile women with Jews is much more frequent than that of Gentile men with Jewesses.

Perhaps the greater subjection of the Jewish girl to parental authority partly accounts for this fact. The Jewish young man feels himself less under family restraint. Numerical discrepancy doubtless is another factor. Census figures indicate there are in the United States 250,000 more male than female Jews. This disparity may largely be attributed to sex disproportion among immigrants. Prudential considerations also may influence the Jewish maid in her choice of a mate from among her own people; with a Jewish husband she feels a greater sense of economic security.

On the other hand, the average Gentile girl doubtless appreciates the desirability of a Jewish mate. She has observed the Jew's excellent treatment of his family. He is the most uxorious of men. He is well qualified for maintaining a home. Patriarchal tradition influences him to be a good husband and father. She has confidence that his financial capacity will safeguard her material welfare. Moreover, the Jew is a most masterful wooer.

It is not strange that the Gentile male looks with mating desire upon Israel's lovely daughters. Aside from purely amative considerations, there are divers decided advantages in having a Jewess for wife. Among these is that she brings to her husband a rich dowry of domestic virtues. She has a fine concept of marital fidelity. Holiness of the home and sanctity of the family life are fair threads interwoven with the fabric of her ideals. By instinct and training she is of all women the best qualified for wifehood and motherhood. Dr. C. W. Saleeby, chairman of the English National Birth-rate Commission, in a report on the results of his investigations among the London poor, asserts that "the best mothers on London's East Side are, almost without exception, Jews." This fact he believes to be "a direct result of racial ethics," and he adds: "Much of the morality and high standards of intelligence among Jewish youth may be attributed to the powerful home influences exerted upon the individual from birth."

Then the physical attraction is strong. As a race

the Jews are highly sexed, the women as full of magnetism as a Leyden-jar. The seductive charm of their soft Oriental beauty makes a potent appeal to masculinity. To my mind, a beautiful Jewess is the most beautiful woman in the world.

There is a persistent tradition that the Jewish woman is personally more virtuous than her Gentile sister. This tradition perhaps is truth. It is a fact of social statistics that the Hebrew courtesan is rare. This may be due in part to early ethical training, as well as to the influence of a distinctive family life, and the characteristic solicitude of the Jewish mother for her children. Perhaps, too, it is because she takes her religious teachings more seriously, their moral limitations more literally. Also, it may further be accounted for by the proclivity of masculine Israel to protect the chastity of its womanhood; the Jewish libertine preys largely upon Gentile femininity. In the married state, another factor may be the superior sexual virility of the Jewish husband that guards him against the cuckold's fate. But above all else is the economic factor; the Jewish woman is more sheltered, her material necessities are better provided for by father, brother or husband, so that she has not the same reason as the Gentile of her sex for resorting to the most ancient and least honorable of all professions for women.

Inherited ideals of personal character also are a prime influence in preserving pudicity in the Jewish woman. The exceeding value of feminine virtue is an idea ingrained in the Jewish mind from time immemorial. Everywhere in the precepts of Israel's ancient teachers is chastity exalted above all other of woman's possessions. The Old Proverbialist says of the virtuous woman, "her price is far above rubies"; and, again: "A virtuous woman is a crown to her husband."

Both men and women of Jewish blood are exceptionally fitted for family life. Each is distinguished alike for philoprogenitiveness and filial affection, as well as for connubial tenderness. They cherish the

loftiest domestic ideals; to them the home is a temple, the hearthstone is a shrine. The most beautiful family life I ever have witnessed has been in the homes of my Jewish friends. The domestic devotion of the Jew is such that an appreciative Gentile hardly can visit in a representative Jewish household without regretting he is not a Jew.

In Judeo-Christian marriages, however, are potential dangers that should not be disregarded. These reside in the differences in social customs, family system, and home standards. To the offspring is imparted a mixed heredity, and unless extreme care is exercised their lives are like to be distracted by a conflict of separate social ideals and social influences. It should be the aim of husband and wife to find for their variant viewpoints a common focus.

It is vital in such marriages to guard against any friction regarding religious differences, which would be fatal to connubial concord. Happiness in the home depends upon a mutual consideration for the feelings of the other that will insure tolerance of unaccordant individual views. This should not be greatly difficult. Despite the iron intolerance of the Roman Catholic *credenda,* some of the most successful marriages I know are between Catholics and Protestants.

Mixed marriages should be encouraged as a means of Judaization; but in such unions the Jew should not give up his ideals. Instead, he should introduce Jewish ideals into the home and for results depend upon the process of natural substitution of superiority.

In all social relations of Jew with Aryan the psychic factor always should be considered. There is a radical dissimilarity between their respective mental constitutions. The Occidental and the Oriental mind has each a different outlook and widely variant views. Only the closest and continued association can bring to contact these divergencies of thought.

Much of the mutual misunderstanding between these two races results from this mental dissemblance. Their respective thought-pivots are as far apart as are the planetary poles. These wide mental and tempera-

mental spaces—this cerebral chasm—must be spanned by the bridge of matrimony before the races can come into sympathetic contact.

In the intellectual interchange, the reciprocal inoculation of ideas, that takes place in the intimate association of the marriage relation, we see these variances reconciled. If such mental cross-fertilization can produce this kinship of thought, what must be the effect of physical cross-breeding upon the cerebral constitution of the offspring?

The enormous effect of intermarriage on general society is reflected in national destinies. John Foster Fraser, in his book, "The Conquering Jew," says:

"Always when a Jewish population was being absorbed into a nation, that nation rose to pre-eminence."

The rise of both Italy and Spain to dominance is a record of the absorption of Jewish blood into the national body. Their decadence dates from Jewish expulsion in the one case and exodus in the other.

If the Gentile world absorbs the Jew, it will at the same time assimilate Judaism. Judaism is greater, more powerful than the Jew. It is Judaism, not the Jew, that is indestructible.

Zangwill forecasts "the disappearance of the Jew in a Judaized world." Could there be a nobler dissolution?

By losing himself, the Jew gains his divine heritage.

But absorption is regarded by the Jew with abhorrence. Let him comfort himself with the knowledge that in this race unification, not absorption, but amalgamation, is the process.

Assimilation does not mean annihilation, but eternal perpetuation of the vital elements. When you drop a cube of sugar into your cup of coffee, the sugar is not destroyed when dissolved; its properties are preserved, and the substance is disseminated to sweeten the entire solution. Likewise, the diffusion of Jewish blood and its attendant spirit throughout the body social will tincture the tissues of the complete organism.

Prepotency of Jewish blood in outbreeding is

proved by observation. Offspring of mixed marriages almost invariably inherit Hebraic physical characteristics.

Despite the general Jewish antagonism of intermarriage, some Jews of undoubted racial loyalty and religious zeal, as well as of unquestioned intelligence, are discarding the idea that such unions tend toward Israel's disintegration. Witness this by Charles H. Joseph in the *Jewish Criterion:* "Most intermarriages are between Jewish men and Gentile women. Rarely do we hear of a Jewish girl marrying a Gentile. Occasionally there is such a marriage, but the majority is overwhelmingly the other way. And we find from observation that in most instances the Gentile wives are satisfied to embrace the Jewish faith, at least outwardly, and that the children usually are brought up in the Jewish fold."

Whatever the impelling influence that disinclines Jews to nuptial alliance with alien blood, it doubtless is a part of the Great Design that such a barrier should be interposed to preserve racial homogeneity and cohesion until the beginning of the fulfillment of Israel's mission. It has been necessary to this Mighty Purpose that Jewish blood should persist in comparative purity until it gain distinctiveness sufficient to give it dominant potency in the combined world-volume.

Also, it may be a part of the Ordained Plan that this reluctance be not too readily overcome, that it be reduced by slight degrees. It is important that intermarriage should not proceed too rapidly, that blood amalgamation should be gradual, lest the slow evolvement of related social effects, for which alone it is desirable, should not keep pace with the process.

This strong blood-strain has been perpetuated to the present for cross-breeding in humanity's crisis. The spirit of Judaism has been concentrated for centuries against the need for its diffusion among earth's peoples to regenerate the race.

Jewish blood will survive immortally in the tide of universal admixture.

PROBING THE JEWISH PROBLEM

TO THE Jew who has achieved and climbed and conquered, it is deeply humiliating that his people still should constitute a problem. This feeling on his part, however, does not lessen the bitter fact.

"Even in America, with its lip-formula of brotherhood," says Israel Zangwill, "a gateless ghetto has been created by the Jews from the general social life."

Although Zangwill is an ardent advocate of colonization, he yet sees in this plan no solution of the Jewish problem. In an address on "Itoism" he has said:

"Even imagination can not see any way of completely solving the Jewish question. The original exodus was child's play to the modern problem. Moses had to do with a people already collected together, only 600,000 in number, that had merely to march out and train itself in the wilderness until it was ready to conquer the tribes that held the nearest country, which happened to be Palestine. But today, with a race of 15,000,000, scattered in every country on earth, with no convenient wilderness in which to muster, speaking no common language, losing even their common religious expression, often mutually hostile, and the mass of them too poor to emigrate—or too rich—it scarcely is possible even to conceive a plan for their regathering, much less to carry it out. No wonder the folk-imagination looked to miracle for the solution. Even were a new Judea successfully established, the great mass would long remain scattered as today. Insofar as the Jewish problem embraces the fate of all Jews, an Itoland could not solve it. The regathering of the Jews in any one country is, humanly speaking, impossible; and least possible in Palestine. The dispersion of the Jews can be remedied only by dissolution."

Of all race problems, that of the Jews is most re-

markable, complex, and important, and the one that most imperatively struggles for solution.

The Jew is the marvel of modern times, even as he is the historic puzzle of the past. His continued existence is the perpetual miracle of the mysterious ages. He is the eternal enigma—the enduring riddle of the centuries, which he has not himself been able clearly to read.

Before the earliest record was written, since tradition first traced dimly the deeds of our race, the Jewish problem "has been the most *vexata quæstio* of mankind."

This problem has been given place with the problems of perpetual motion, squaring the circle, and the fourth dimension, as an apparently insoluble mystery.

Every people, each according to its individual characteristics, has its special problems. The Jewish people, therefore, in this respect is not peculiar; it is only because its problems are immediate and acute that they assume a more protrusive social significance.

Broadly speaking, there are just two Jewish problems; that is, all the various questions that concern specifically the Jewish people—that vex and perplex —under philosophic analysis fall into two general groups. Those that vex result from race antagonism; those that perplex relate to the mission of Israel.

Now, every human problem potentially is susceptible of solution. All that is required to this end is thorough-going observation and absolute logic. This is because every fact in the universe is related to all other facts. Therefore, no event (events being a form of fact) is disconnected from another, no happening is complete in itself. Isolation is impossible. Everything is conjunctive and consequential. Yesterday is indivisibly and cohesively coupled with tomorrow. Nothing can be separated; the concatenation is complete. Earth itself is but a link in the infinite chain of causation. That any particular problem remains unsolved is due, not to any intrinsic difficulty of the problem itself, but to our own intellectual limitations. Either we fail fully to perceive all the facts involved,

or we are unable to place those facts in correct relation to one another.

Certain it is that the solution of the Jewish problem never will be found by Judaphobes. Scarcely more probable is it that it will be provided by Semitophiles. It can be reached only by an impartial observer, one whose vision is unobscured by any shadow of partisanship.

For this reason the Jew himself is unqualified for the undertaking. However broad the survey of wide-minded Jews, the really perceptive Gentile is provided with a truer perspective.

It is fit, therefore, that the Jewish problem should be discussed by a non-Jewish writer endowed with a sympathetic understanding of his subject. As a disinterested party, his attitude is one of detachment. The onlooker always is more accurately observant than the participator.

It is the purpose of this series of studies to present the solutions of Jewish problems, convincingly demonstrated. The roots of these problems are instincts that run far back into our racial past.

The crux of the Jewish problem is the attainment of the ideal of Israel. All other phases of the question are subordinate to this sovereign issue. This consummation never can be realized until the Jews are brought into harmonious relation with Aryan peoples.

This is the day of coalition, and it is imperative for the establishment of the New Civilization, in which the spiritual idea shall be supreme, that humanity's diverse and discordant ideals shall be unified and harmonized. The Jewish ideal is the only one my searchings have found that, by reason of its rational basis, seems fitted for universal acceptance by the peoples of this planet. We find in it the fundamentals from which all other ethical systems have sprung. Its essence pervades both Christianity and Mohammedanism, whose followers comprise more than half the world's population.

An ideal that could persist unimpaired throughout the changes of so many centuries must be more than a

dream; it must have vitality and substance and integrity.

Israel's ideal is the public good. It is the cult of righteousness, the gospel of social justice. It would remodel society, readjust human relations, and establish a new and an equitable order of life.

The principle of the common bond of humanity is so plain that a man need know nothing of social science or political economy to have the key to the riddle in his possession. Basic morality, upon which the integrity of society depends, recognizes no race distinctions. The hand of the Jew steadfastly holds aloft the light of this only ultimate human faith.

There is a significant symbolism in the legend of Ahasuerus, "The Wandering Jew," for in its subtler meanings it proclaims the promise that the ideals of Israel shall eternally endure.

Judaism and not Christianity is right regarding the Messiah. Jesus the gentle-souled was not the Messiah. The true Messiah is yet to come. The mistake of the Jews was in their conception of the Messiah. The Messiah is not a personage, but an incarnate idea. It is symbolic of a condition of universal justice. The Messianic Era merely will be the realization of Israel's social ideal.

It is incorrect, perhaps, to speak of the "Jewish ideal"; a domain so extensive must comprehend a system of ideals.

This system embraces all those basic ideals the universal acceptance of which will bind in harmonious union the opposite poles of human life.

Universal acceptance of these ideals inevitably will result in a general awakening of altruism and sympathy, an improvement in individual character, an elevation of all the standards of life.

The sooner the inarticulate majority comprehend these ideals, recognize their utility, and adopt them, the better it will be for the world.

When this is done—and it must be done by Judaistic initiative—the Jewish problem will disappear.

JEWISH CHARACTERISTICS

IT SHOULD be accepted as a fundamental fact that there is no *essential* difference in human nature. Whatever difference there may be is purely one of degree. This is equally true of peoples and of individuals. Races differ in characteristics because of particular environment or peculiar experience; but there is nothing basic in these differences.

Certain peculiar characteristics definitely distinguish the Jews from all other peoples. This, if I am permitted the anomalous phrase, may be called race individuality.

The distinguishing characteristics of the Jews—or of any race, or any nation—are but the expressions of their environment, the result of reaction to external conditions.

It is customary for the social philosopher to designate environment, heredity, and training as the trinity of influences in the formation of character. This trinal agency might for convenience be reduced to one basic factor. Environment embraces the others. Heredity is but projected environment. Training also is a part of environment. We all are creatures of our experiences—immediate and inherited—and experience, whatever its kind, is a species of environment.

The elements in this equation may thus be summarized: Man is the expression of his environment—the product of conditions under which he lives. Heredity is the harvest from the seeds of past environment. It is heredity that gives the Jew constitutional characteristics that make him a type.

We should not confound character with characteristics. One is basic, the other is superficial. It should be borne in mind that social and not biological heredity

is responsible for the marked difference in characteristics of Jew and Aryan. This being so, the differences will be modified and even eradicated as the social environment changes. Dissimilitude of type disappears under identity of external influences.

Character is the effects of past emotional experiences lingering in the sub-conscious mind. The infant is without character because it lacks experience. Instead of character, it has disposition. It is not possible from this transitory disposition of the child to determine its potential character. More often than otherwise, the sweet-natured child develops into a disagreeable adult, and *vice versa*. It is only with the acquisition of experience that character begins to form, and the quality of that character depends upon the nature of those experiences.

Heredity is the product of the accumulated experience of progenitors through all the preceding ages. As individual experience determines character, so inherited experience determines characteristics. Thus, it is a soundly philosophic proposition that the Jew, true to racial type through countless generations of intensive reproduction, pre-eminently is a creature of heredity. Acknowledgment of this fact is essential to any adequate understanding of the Jew.

The unique race similarity of Jews is due to the rigid uniformity of arbitrary conditions to which they have been subjected in all lands. They have lacked that plasticity of environment which permits variation of characteristics in the individual. The Jew so readily responds to the effects of environment, is so easily molded by the forces by which he is surrounded, that the ghetto walls, barring him from external influences and causing him to react upon himself, have proved his only preservative. Penned within the Pale, the Jews have developed a similarity that strengthens solidarity almost to invulnerability; and, strangely enough, division but increases cohesion. Distributed throughout the world though they be, theirs is what Zebulon B. Vance so appositely describes as "scattered unity." Persecuted and proscribed and

dissevered, the wider their dispersion the closer do they cling to their spiritual communism.

While I would champion the Jew against the injustice of Judaphobic traducers, I have no patience with those professional philosemites who insist that he is a faultless creature, would have us believe him a blameless martyr. Nor should the Jew himself wish otherwise. Excessive eulogy is not more kind than unmerited detraction. Both caricature and neither convinces. The justice of truth only is acceptable.

As a matter of fact, the Jew has his full share of faults and perhaps not more virtues than properly belong to him. Therefore, I favor him with no fulsome compliment nor withhold from him any meedful praise.

Falsely to picture the Jew as a saint is no part of intelligent or helpful friendship. Such fictitious portrayal causes those who come in contact with the Jew to expect too much of him; and because they thought to find him without fault, disappointed expectations naturally result in an exaggerated estimate of his actual demerits, with increased prejudice and added antagonism as a consequence.

When I describe Jewish character and characteristics, I speak from an intimate knowledge and, I believe, more than a usual understanding. I have mingled with Jews of all classes, observing them from every angle and studying them under all conditions. I have met them in congenial companionship in homes of wealth and culture, and I have gone down into the deepest squalor of the ghetto in fullest fellowship. And, whatever the superficial peculiarities resulting from special influences, in the fundamentals of human nature I have not found them radically different from other races. Apropos of this, in an early novel of mine, of such crudity that I do not care to recall it to the public mind by mention of its title, there is a Jewish character whose estimate of the qualities of his people makes this point more plain. At an organization meeting a non-Jewish friend, replying to a rabid attack upon the Jews by one of the speakers, offers an im-

passioned defense, and, after extended references to admirable traits of the Hebrew race, declares:

"I honor the Jew, too, for his steadfast memory. He never forgets a favor nor forsakes a friend. Every benefit upon him bestowed is entered indelibly in the ledger of his life, and he seldom dies leaving a debit. He is faithful to a friend and true to a trust, and whatever his admitted faults, he is at least a stranger to ingratitude. In all life's storms that have overtaken me, I have found my securest reliance in the staunch friendship of a Jew."

Further along in the discussion, a Christian critic who uses the word "Jew" with insulting intent is reminded:

"When you hurl the reproach of race at the head of a Jew you discredit Him whom you hail as your Messiah and dishonor His mother whom you daily petition for merciful intercession. Why, you must go to the Jew for all you have that is good—you have to go to him even for your God and your soul's salvation!"

After adjournment my Jewish character, privately discussing the incident with his emotional Gentile friend, counsels moderation, and says:

"You must not make the mistake of supposing the Jew to be essentially different from other men, despite the fact that the world, including the Jew himself, has throughout the centuries insisted upon such differentiation. He has his allotment of virtues, no doubt, but they are offset by a full share of faults. The aggregate of his attributes, according to the law of cosmic adjustment, is simply the average of human nature; wherefore is he neither better nor worse than others of humankind. If he possesses in a greater degree than most others the particular traits of fidelity, gratitude, and charity, it is because he has drained to its ultimate dregs the bitter brew of oppression and knows well the worth of those things. If he values freedom at its fullness, it is because so often he has had it not. The lesson of liberty is written deep on his heart in the pyrography of pain, for which reason that heart re-

members. Men are made brothers through the fellowship of suffering."

More than the representatives of any other race, the Jew is a creature of arbitrarily imposed conditions. This fact is generally recognized by students, sociologists, and historians. "The Jew is what we made him," says so eminent an authority as Lord Macaulay. "Their virtues are their own," says Leroy Beaulieu; "their vices are our making. Their virtues are a result of Judaic practice; their vices are the result of circumstances which we have massed about their life." Vance puts the matter with characteristic vigor: "If the Jew is a bad job, in all honesty we should contemplate him as the handiwork of our own civilization." Another writer has said of the Jew, "He has been flung into the mud, and then blamed if his garments were soiled."

These views, while true to an extent, are unconsciously exaggerated. Accepted at full value, they would relieve the Jew of all responsibility for his shortcomings. Also, and what is more unfortunate, by their general application they imply faults more and greater than those of other races and out of all proportion to the facts. They indicate a sense of self-superiority on the part of Aryans that the Jew must find nearly intolerable. Doubtless, too, he finds it painfully distasteful thus to be impaled upon the pin of alien opinion and studied as if he were some strange entomological specimen.

The mistake in this matter results from a failure to realize that all races have their own classes, each with its peculiar race-class characteristics. In the case of the Jew, the race-class characteristics of a considerable, but by no means predominant, element are regarded as universal race characteristics. This is because the obtrusive manners and habits of this objectionable class give them a special conspicuity, while Jewish gentility, being normal, is not noticeable. Coarseness, like crime, always stands forth prominently against a scarce-observable background of rectitude and propriety. The fact that the obnoxious Jew is marked for definite disfavor is proof sufficient that he

is a minority and an abnormality; otherwise, he would be accepted without special attention and as a matter of course, along with our own undesirables.

So it is we condemn the many for the faults of the few.

Barabbas, in Marlowe's "The Jew of Malta," felt this and spoke for the best of his race when he said:

> "Some Jews are wicked as some Christians are,
> But say the tribe that I descended of
> Were all in general cast away for sin,
> Shall I be tried for their transgression?"

Renan was more nearly right than most others in this matter when he said, "The Christian is but a Jew with a little alloy." Which gives the Jew the better basis of character.

Whatever unpleasant peculiarities may characterize the cruder Jews are properly excused by the comparative recency of their release from a distorting environment. The long-sustained pressure of persecution has left creases in their character that can be ironed out only by the hand of Time.

Also, the change from repression to freedom tended to engender an excessive spirit of self-assertion, that may be likened to the effect of the sudden release of a tightly-coiled steel spring. This, however, merely is a temporary manifestation of the transitional stage.

In speaking of Jewish characteristics, I refer only to classes, not to racial entirety.

Jews of gentle breeding criticise the rude ones of their own race, but bitterly resent such criticism from outsiders. They find malice in all alien comment that is not complimentary. And in friendly Gentile critics who indulge in candor they see disguised anti-Semitic propagandists. With full understanding of this I shall present the facts with all freedom and frankness and accept the consequences of Jewish condemnation.

Really, Jews should be more consistent in such matters. They are anxiously desirous to know why Jews are disliked, and when some one tells them they get angry about it. They can not reasonably expect

a cure if they are too sensitive to allow the surgeon to touch the sore.

Still, it is not surprising that an effect of their experiences is that every approach they see as an attack and in every investigator see an antagonist.

Right here is where the Jews should realize that, even with all purely prejudicial influences removed, they will be judged in mass so long as the mass protests every adverse judgment of the individual.

That type of Jew to which Gentile society most decidedly takes exception is familiar to us all, and none finds pleasure in his presence, his own blood-fellows no more than others. His habits are atrocious and his manners abominable. He is loudly opinionative and doggedly dogmatic; disputatious and contradictive. He is unbearably aggressive and intolerably arrogant. He is vain and vauntful, and violently gesticulative. He is so militantly jealous of his "rights" that he disregards the rights of all others. He respects not the principle of priority, but elbows you aside in public places and clamors to be served out of turn. He demands the best for himself, without consideration for the comfort or convenience of others—which is strange in a people that at bottom are so altruistic. He appropriates to his temporary use whatever he may desire, regardless of ownership and with no "by your leave." He is a grabber, a crowder, a monopolizer. He appears always to be obsessed by a fear that he will not get all that is "coming" to him—and causes others to share that fear. His habits are accurately described in the vernacular as "hoggish," for he is for all the world like a greedy porker with forefeet in the swill-trough to block his fellows from feeding.

Who is it crushes onto the car platform before you alight, or pushes into the elevator cage before you can make your exit? You note it is a Jew. Are you overborne in a crowd or jostled on the street? Again it is a Jew. Does a passenger occupy a double seat and load another with his luggage in a crowded railway coach? Nine times in ten he is a Jew. Does

some person refuse to move over to make seat-room for a straphanger in a public conveyance? Almost invariably it is a Jew. Are you annoyed by boisterous conduct and coarse language in a public dining-room or a place of amusement? You are not surprised to observe that the offending party consists of Jews. Who thrusts himself upon you at inopportune times and for irrelevant purposes? None else than a Jew. Who is insolently insistent when you deny his demands? A Jew, of course. Who ignores rules and regulations for the common benefit? The inconsiderate Jew. Does a group in conversation obstruct the sidewalk instead of stepping to the curb? Instinctively you look to see whether they are Jews. Does a man block an entrance against your passage? A Jew—always a Jew.

Then this breed of Jew wonders why he is disliked! The pity is that in the public esteem he is a reflection upon his entire race.

Until the Jew reforms his conduct he will continue to be unpopular.

Jews whom the foregoing description does not fit will feel no offense, but will admit its truth as applied to others; those it does fit, if they object thereto, are unreasonable enough to object to the truth.

"But," you ask, "do not other nationalities of equivalent class offend in like manner?" In the same number and to the same extent—no. The Jew goes where these others do not. His aggressiveness, born of a sense of inherent power, emphasizes his personal faults. Other peoples of corresponding class lack this self-assertive spirit and attitude of assurance. They are more like to be servile, cringing, evasive; which perhaps is a worse fault, but less irritating and not antagonistic. They are guiltless of social trespass or social solecism; because they remain within their own boundaries their crass conduct violates no class code.

By his forwardness the Jew brings his faults into high relief and places them on front-window display.

You still will insist, of course, that the Gentile has an equal share of faults. True, but I am not now

writing about Gentiles. Wait until I do, and see what I shall have to say. It is the Jew that provides the present problem, and to him must we confine our attention in seeking a solution.

Much is explained by the fact that in his faults, as in other things, the Jew is different. He may not have more faults than the Gentile, but they are dissimilar. Dislike of the unlike extends even to the Jew's defects. It may be said that whatever is foreign is for that reason a fault. Familiarity with faults robs them of much of their repellence. Because of this, our own faults do not appear to us so objectionable as do the faults of others. In fact, often we are unconscious of their existence. Uncleanly folk do not detect offensive odors emanating from their own persons. As the homely proverb has it, "The skunk can not scent his own stench."

This dislike of the different is found among all peoples—a modified form of xenophobia.

Of course, we understand why the Jew is what he is. We know his present condition to be the crystallization of countless past experiences. In other days he was obliged to be aggressive in order to survive. It was necessary for him to grab if he would get anything. He was obliged to force his way wherever he would go. Consideration for others meant loss to himself. He needs must jealously guard his rights if he would retain them. For him life was incessant struggle, with all other hands against him. His present needless methods are the vestigia of past necessitous habits, which evolution has not yet eliminated.

We can condone much in the Jew when we think upon all he has suffered at our hands of oppressions and suppressions, of persecutions and executions; when we look back over the ruthless record of social degradation, economic boycott, robbery, imprisonment, torture, exile, and massacre.

But, while we understand the reasons for the Jew's offensive traits, and may be broadly charitable in consequence, that understanding does not make them less objectionable.

In truth, our tolerance is more general and theoretical than particular and personal. After an unfortunate experience with a tricky Israelite tradesman it requires all the moral fortitude of even the well-grounded philosopher to maintain an unprejudiced attitude toward the Jew.

Again, the Jew more than any other is trammeled by tradition. His ancient heritage of religious belief and practice has made for him an ineradicable basis of character. He is burdened with the accumulated memories of the ages. Ever the dreams of the Kabbala haunt the mystic chambers of his brain. It may particularly be said of the Jews, as Ernest Haeckel said of mankind in general, that they are "pushed by the invisible hands of countless ancestors"; for the Jew feels this propulsion more than do other men. He is dominated by the force of inherited instincts.

Against the defects of character in the most inferior Jew are set many shining excellences. Even the extreme type whose crudities I have criticised possesses an abundance of admirable qualities that reveal the sterling integrity of race fundamentals. Beneath the crassest surface are virtues that are as virgin gold. His public deportment and his private living are things apart. In his personal relations he is gentle, generous, and just. He is acutely conscious of obligations bestowed, to which he is excessively reciprocal. His own bitter experiences have made him sensitive to the sufferings of others, and any manifestation of misfortune is the "open sesame" to his sympathies. He has a fine sense of personal honor, and although some of his canons of conduct may to others appear peculiar, he is punctilious to his code. Above all else is he distinguished for the fidelity of his friendships.

That the Jew is *sui generis* is amply attested by the fact that no non-Jew ever has succeeded in giving a convincing stage impersonation of Hebraic character. Only a Jew can depict with fidelity the Jewish characteristics. The Jews are the only people of such racial verity that they can not successfully be counterfeited by the most skillful mime.

Race antagonism is not directly dependent upon the peculiarities of Jewish characteristics. They are not primary causes; they merely intensify, provide excuses, and afford opportunity to particularize. Also, they furnish the uncomprehending mind with an apparent explanation of a phenomenon it does not understand. They present something visible and tangible upon which to hang the drapery of prejudice. The Jews are detested as a race by those who fear their economic dominance.

When all is said in this matter, we must return to the previously stated fact that there is no essential difference in human nature. Jews have no faults that fundamentally are not common to mankind. Whatever difference may be, is found in the manner of their manifestation. Even in this manifestation there is very little variety. Touch the basic springs of motivation, and all men react in much the same manner, whatever their cultural or racial distinctions.

Jewish characteristics, whether basal or banal, are the product of an age-long process of selective development. Those that are worthy have been winnowed like grain from chaff by the winds of adversity, and will endure eternally. Those that are narrow and shallow have resulted from dwarfing restrictions, and will be eliminated by expansion. As the life of the Jewish people broadens it also deepens, if it does not also grow higher.

This change is inevitable, and the process already may be observed. Jewish similarity so long was perpetuated by the Jews throughout the world being subjected to similar restrictive conditions. Now that those conditions are removed; that their environment is varied; that all occupations are open to them; that they mingle freely with other peoples, such contact affecting their characteristics, the ancient Jewish homogeneity must disintegrate and disappear.

MISSION OF THE JEWS

ISRAEL'S camp is divided over the issue of Israel's mission. But both factions are in the compelling grip of evolutionary social forces that are working out a predestined purpose despite every dissension. Orthodox or Reform, the Jew still is a Jew—and is a Jew first of all.

What is the nature of this mission, as evidenced by the facts of history and heredity?

Notwithstanding the Jew's continuous and enormous contributions to the sum of civilization, in the main his manifest function so far appears to have been self-perpetuation and the preservation of his solidarity. It is not reasonable to suppose, however, that a race has been held in suspension for so many centuries except for some great and beneficent purpose—something exceeding in importance its own existence.

Some Jews, flattered to an excess of racial egotism by the designation of Chosen People, are oblivious of the obligations imposed by such selection, assuming it to be solely a consequence of innate merit. But the most exalted estimate of racial importance can not justify the supposition that any people would be preserved against the world's united efforts for their extermination simply for their own sake—that mere existence is its own end. Nor can we explain the universal and uninterrupted persecution of the Jews on any hypothesis other than that it was designed to fit them by experience for the great work awaiting them; through suffering to discipline and develop and strengthen them for lifting the burdens from the world; to give substance and permanence and eminence to their ethical ideals; to teach them the worth of liberty and justice and clemency by deprivation of those essentials to social security.

As a matter of fact, there is no reason for believing that the Jew—any more than the aggregate of mankind—is not a secondary factor incidental to some stupendous demiurgic scheme whose functioning assigns a minor value to the human protoplasm.

Even so zealous a Hebraist as Zangwill says: "To preserve the Jews, whether as a race or as a religious community, is no part of the world's duty, nor would artificial preservation preserve anything of value. . . . The world's duty is only to preserve the ethical ideals it has so slowly and laboriously evolved, largely under Jewish inspiration."

Here we have an argument for racial assimilation, by one of the most conspicuous of modern Israel's intellectual leaders. If amalgamation is the ultimate fate of the Jew, however, the process, even as this argument predicates, can not be independent either in chronology or in operation, but must be synchronous with and a part of the fulfillment of the Jewish mission; else would one be fruitless and the other frustrate.

As I see it, the only explanation of the Jew's survival against the fierce forces of destruction that unceasingly have assailed him, is that in the scheme of cosmic conservation he has been reserved for a special mission and must endure until this destiny is discharged. The legend of "The Wandering Jew" is not without its symbolic significance.

With this view many of the best minds of Judaism agree. Prof. Morris Jastrow, Jr., in "Zionism and the Future of Palestine," says:

"The only index we have for judging of the destiny of a people is by its past, and the history of the Jews during the last 2000 years points unmistakably to their function of commingling with their fellowmen and thus rendering their share of service toward the advancement of culture and civilization. To those who read history aright, it must be clear that it is the function of the Jews to enter into the life about them."

Regarding the division of opinion concerning the character of the Judaic mission, one of the wisest and

most revered of Israel's modern prophets, the late Dr. Joseph Jacobs, in "Jewish Ideals," remarks:

"The mass of Jews are still influenced by the Messianic hopes, and keep their separateness from others, and their bonds with one another, under the conviction that there is a Divine mission for Israel to play in the world's history. The conviction is somewhat vague and indefinite; some look forward to a personal Messiah, others anticipate a Messianic age and a spread of Hebraic conceptions and Jewish ideals."

What has preserved the Jews through the ages under a pressure of agony that would have destroyed another people? What has enabled them to persist against such appalling persecutions? Just one thing: a deathless faith in their divinely ordained destiny. In every ordeal they have been strengthened by a sense of the holiness of their heritage and sustained by a consciousness of consecration to their sacred mission.

In their prophetic program the Jews are not bound together in a physical organization; for this purpose, theirs is a spiritual union—an organized impulse. This gives concerted voluntary action—the most potent phase of co-operation. You can not form the forces of idealism into a disciplined physical body. Physical organization is spiritual slavery; members must submit to the will of another. Physical organizations work for material group advantage. Spiritual organization strives for the universal benefit.

Truth transcends the hampering limitations of orthodox organization. The truth of mathematics, for example, could gain nothing from the organization of a mathematical party. It is the same in politics, science, philosophy, and art. For Truth to function fully, it must have a plastic environment; that is, the individual must be free to exercise his initiative. Political, religious, and philosophical organizations surround Truth with the most rigid environment, which is to say they enslave their members. We see this illustrated in the history of ecclesiasticism. The growth of modern science was made possible only by the obsolescence of the temporal power of the papacy. How

could the church permit the teaching of science, which was in every way fatal to the dogmas of theology, therefore destructive of the sacerdotal revenue? No truth was welcomed that imperiled the occupation of the priest. But the priest is of the same clay as are other men. Such men as Leo X. suppressed the truth in behalf of their own interests; and what the Roman pontiffs did in the Middle Ages, the American politicians are doing today. This is but another way of saying with the historian Guizot that the heart that beat under the ancient toga beats beneath the senatorial robe of the present. The politicians are suppressing economic truth as the clergy suppressed scientific truth, in their own behalf. It is the same with the exponents of everything—with the leaders of labor and capital, with all the sectarian denominations and secular cults, and so on throughout the entire sphere of human activity.

It is essential, therefore, that the Jews, in fulfilling their mission, which broadly is the triumph of Truth over all the elements of Error and which embraces all the interests of life, should maintain their intellectual initiative and spiritual independence by eschewing all formal organization to that end.

Now, here is an influence of tremendous importance in anti-Semitism. The Jew is a foreordained factor in the Social Change, his mission is opposed to the Established Order; *i. e.*, the Gentile system of injustice and violence. Upholders of the Existing Order always instinctively and unconsciously resist the unidentified and sometimes invisible forces of change, which resistance often finds expression in the bitterest enmity. This consideration does not remove any part of the Jewish problem from its economic foundation, for, all social systems being based on economics, any change thereof can be only along economic lines.

The foregoing facts not only explain to some extent an instinctive race antagonism, but they also account for much of the organized opposition to the Jew —religious, political, industrial, and social: selfish desire to suppress Truth.

The mission of Israel—that strange, persistent thing that throughout the ages has withstood the efforts of every agency that has sought its destruction—is it a thing of evil that it should so doggedly be assailed and menaced and opposed? No, it is—O strangest of all strange things!—the redemption of the human race, the brotherhood of man, the establishment of exact justice, the salvation of society. It seeks only to save those who would destroy it. Could there be a more amazing example of the perversity of misguided mankind than is afforded by the attitude and actions of Israel's enemies?

Let us now consider the future of the Jewish race as related to Israel's mission.

It is a universal law that when a thing has fulfilled its function it soon thereafter ceases to exist. The Jewish mission will not be completed until all humanity expires, but the specific purpose of the Jewish race is approaching its accomplishment, which process automatically will erase it as an ethnic entity.

Though the Jew pass, Judaism shall not perish. The Jews may lose their racial distinction, but Israel will survive; for Israel is an ideal, and ideals are immortal. Judaism is humanity's universal heritage, and none shall lose that legacy.

O Israel! through all trials and all triumphs you are eternally indestructible, like unto that other of whom Swinburne said:

"Fruits fail and love dies and time ranges;
Thou art fed with perpetual breath,
And alive after infinite changes,
And fresh from the kisses of death."

Judaism is not a lifeless dogma, an inert creed. It is vital, animate, suspirant. It is a living religion—a religion to be lived—it is life itself. It is a religion of deeds as well as of creeds, and palpitant with purpose. It is a positive and constructive religion, with a definite and practical objective. And the soul of Judaism is the Jewish ideal.

Yet, though the spirit of Israel shall endure end-

lessly, Judaism has attained the climax of its development as a concentrated force, and is destined to early and rapid diffusion.

Mark you well, the fate of Judaism is not *dissolution,* but *diffusion.*

Dispersed Israel is a chain of brotherhood stretched across all nations and passing around the world to bind mankind in fraternal unity.

Earth's heterogeneous hordes will be welded by Jewish blood, while their various discordant elements will by the quenchless flame of Israel's faith be fused into a harmonious whole.

So, this unifying process I would not call absorption, but amalgamation. Although the Jew is a numerical minority, his contribution to the composite mass will not be secondary. Nor will he suffer any intrinsic loss, for there will be value received to fullest compensation. He will lose his cumbersome non-essentials, but he will gain spiritual supremacy. The Gentile world, on the other hand, will have lost naught that is worthy and will have gained a definite ideal.

Zangwill proclaims the true Judaistic principle when he declares: "In a world redeemed by reason and love—in a really Christian world, that is—the Jewish problem would cease to exist; and I had far rather see the Jewish people saved as a part of the salvation of the world than saved by a scheme of private salvation to which the fate of the world at large was a matter of indifference."

Every impulse of the Jew urges him toward universalism. He is the incarnation of the internationalistic spirit. It was a Jew, Doctor Zamenhof, who originated Esperanto, designed as a universal language. It is important that the Jew give us first a universal blood, then there will be no confusion of speech.

By the ultimate infusion of the blood of its people Israel will give to the world a universal race, regenerated by its righteousness, enriched by its ideals, uplifted by its inspirations, stabilized by its integrities, exalted by its aspirations, energized by its dynamic

qualities, and with a truer vision provided by its verities.

Many Jews object to amalgamation because they believe it means annihilation. To these I would point out that the raindrop is not annihilated when it merges with the ocean's vaster volume. Loss of identity? A minim of cochineal dropped into a vessel of water is not obliterated; instead, it encarmines the entire content. So with Jewish blood in the common arterial fluid.

To comfort the Jew in this connection, we may say, again in the words of Swinburne:

> "Thy life shall not cease though thou doff it;
> Thou shalt live until evil be slain."

No longer should the Jews be called a "scattered race." They simply are distributed; and, in this distribution, they shall serve as a leaven for sodden society the world over.

Owning no land, they have made all lands their own; without nationality, it is their mighty mission to weld all nations into one.

It is no more logical that we should have different nationalities than that we should have different contemporaneous civilizations.

Political democracy must be preceded by spiritual democracy. The only existent democracy is in Israel's domain, whose boundaries must be extended to earth's remotest regions before the dream of universal social liberation can be realized.

Human solidarity then will take the place of race solidarity. The narrow spirit of nationalism will be transformed to international humanitarianism.

In the fulfillment of his mission the Jew will give to the world a consolidated race and its true League of Nations.

SOCIAL DISCRIMINATION

ONE phase of the Jewish problem, closely allied to and resembling race antagonism, has no visible relation to economics—although such connection quite certainly exists—and that is social antipathy. There are, of course, many contributory causes of this repugnance, and these will be fully considered without reference to their economic basis, which has been sufficiently explained in previous chapters.

Jews are not subjected to social ostracism because of racial objections. If seemingly such is the case, it is because of class characteristics so nearly universal that in the general mind they are mistaken for racial attributes. The reasons for race antagonism are external and impersonal; the causes of social antipathy are personal and inherent. When a people is socially rejected by all other peoples in widely separated lands and of broadly diversified characteristics, the very nature of the phenomenon precludes the possibility of any community of objection; therefore, the engendering reason for dislike must reside in the object thereof.

It is useless to deny that even in America this social antipathy does exist. True, the Jew is admitted, but only where he forces himself in; he is given place, but by sullen concession. It is difficult to close the door against one to whom you owe money.

Social recognition is man's first emotional demand. Without such recognition there can be no adequate co-operation in any of the inter-related affairs of life. By withholding this recognition the Gentile deprives himself of the thing he most desires; for, until social recognition is accorded, Jewish economic co-operation will be restricted as rigidly as is advantageously possible, to the Jewish race. Jews seek to console them-

selves for lack of social acceptance by attempting to minimize its importance. Prof. Ralph Philip Boas, in an article in the *Atlantic Monthly* on "The Problem of American Judaism," says: "It is a happy chance for the American Jew that his age-long persecution either has ended or has degenerated into petty social discrimination."

Per contra, it appears to me unfortunate for the Jew that active persecution should cease while social discrimination continues. There was a fine nobility in his fight against positive persecution, but there can be nothing of exalted dignity in fighting the negative of social discrimination. In fact, it is something that the Jew can not, consistently with self-respect, fight at all. He is disarmed and defenseless before the cruelest of foes.

For other reasons, I can not agree with Professor Boas regarding the relative triviality of social discrimination. From man's denial of equality in brotherhood springs every problem that perplexes the human soul. Without such discrimination, were fraternal acceptance fully accorded, there could be no Jewish problem, with its various manifestations and multifarious effects. Moreover, this attitude gives unto the Gentile a problem as great as that which troubles the Jew, for his self-inflicted injury is, in a spiritual sense, equal to that which he imposes upon his victim.

It is realized by everyone that not all truths are pleasant. There is none, however, that may not be useful. In dealing with this phase of Jewish difficulties I shall tell the exact truth as I see it, regardless of its possible effect on Jewish sensibilities; my aim being to benefit rather than to please.

In social matters, Jews by their own actions contribute to the condition whereof they complain. Distinction should be made, however, between the socially qualified Jews (whose number is proportionately greater perhaps than that of acceptable Gentiles) and that class whose social offenses bring contumely upon all others of their blood. It should be borne in mind, therefore, that, while it may not be convenient always

to indicate the discrimination, it is solely against the latter that my criticisms are directed.

The Jew is susceptible of the highest degree of social polish. In refined Jewish circles we find the finest examples of finished manners. In high-class Jewish homes is dispensed a perfect hospitality by ideal host and hostess. Among first-grade Jews we see in the women an exquisite graciousness and on part of the men an impeccability of conduct that amounts to courtliness. In the superior Jew is an instinctive gentility.

The obnoxious Jew is quite as offensive to the refined Jew as he is to the cultured Gentile, although the racial defensive instinct prevents the Jew admitting the full degree of disagreeableness of his inferior blood-fellow. His private objection, however, probably is greater than that of the Gentile, from the fact that he must suffer for the shortcomings of his deficient brethren.

Although Jews are thus reluctant to concede such faults in the face of alien criticism, that discerning ones are keenly alive to the social defects of Jewish character as a contributing cause of Gentile hostility is witnessed by the strictures indulged among themselves—in family privacy, as it were. As an instance, a writer in *Young Israel* says:

"There are, of course, notable exceptions, but it is mere commonplace among Christians to say that the ordinary behavior of the average Jew is atrocious. He is bumptious, self-conceited, arrogant, pushing, loud-mouthed, and overbearing, whilst his manners are generally clumsy, *gauche,* and unrefined. These are awkward characteristics to be possessed by a people who freely mingle with those who pride themselves on their good nature and good breeding according to their lights."

Jews are thus free with criticism of their racial kin without thought of offense, yet when non-Jews criticise these same faults quick umbrage is taken. Is this consistent? No, but it's natural. Showing that Jew-

ish human nature is not greatly different from any other.

Another writer in the same periodical, who signs himself "An English Jew," in commenting on the causes of Jewish unpopularity, asks:

"Why are so many Jews so ostentatiously and vulgarly showy? Why do Jewish people give noisy card parties on Sundays? Why do Jews wear so many diamonds in the stalls of the theaters—all the Jews, all the showy dress, and all the garish diamonds congregating on one spot, as it were? Why do so many Jews go to Margate in the summer? Why, when there, do they sit in all their finery at their open windows? Why do they talk so loudly everywhere about their money and their dress, and (faugh!) about their food? Why is it possible to tell a Jewish boarding-house on a Sunday, not by the mezuzah on the door, but by the noise within, and the card-playing for many hours, with all the blinds up and all the lights on? Why—but I have asked enough for once. When these questions are answered I will ask more."

When a Jew undertakes to rebuke his own people he often inclines toward too great severity. Why not give a glimpse of the other side as well, lest an over-inclusive impression be created? This ubiquity and conspicuity of the uncultured Jew gives an exaggerated idea of the extent of Jewish vulgarity and obscures the Gentile vision to the predominating refinements of the race.

Jewish cultural possibilities are convincingly exemplified in the fine gentility of the first-class English Jew—the most veritable of all social aristocrats.

Speaking of the social prestige of the Anglo-Jewish patrician, Arnold White (who certainly can not be suspected of pro-Semitic sentiments), in his book, "The Modern Jew," says:

"Invitations to the great Jewish houses are eagerly sought; to be included in their circle of friends is in itself a *cachet;* exclusion or expulsion is a social calamity. There is one feature, however, in the society

encountered in Jewish palaces—one never meets a Jew unless it be an aristocrat. The connection maintained between the Hebrew patrician and his coreligionists of the bourgeoisie is either official or philanthropic."

This same author, who, while severely critical, is disposed to be just, says of Jewish estheticism:

"The tastes of the Jews who have risen are as frankly Greek as the rest of the world, while their appreciation of the beautiful and their repugnance to things unbeautiful are equal. Neither Plato nor Goethe has anything to teach them."

Jewish refinement by no means is confined to the wealthy. I have observed the best of breeding among the proletarian class, particularly the higher type of Russian immigrant, contrary to common belief.

Owing to a common ancestry, with its common heritage, the cultural chasm between Jewish patriciate and Jewish bourgeoisie, purely a consequence of contrasting environments, easily is spanned. Backed by the possibilities of his ancient blood, even the most uncouth Jew has a potential capacity for culture, a ready susceptibility to social polish, that almost justifies the hopelessly trite description of "diamond in the rough."

Dr. Joseph Krauskopf, in his brochure, "Prejudice: Its Genesis and Exodus," takes a moderate view of this matter:

"It is true, some Jews, especially those who have recently arrived from foreign lands, where they had little or no opportunity for social culture, lack refinement, are loud and rude and showy, believe money covers a multitude of social sins, force themselves into circles which are reserved for the cultured and refined. What the Jew demands, however, is that these be treated as individuals and not as Jews; that these be excluded because they are uncouth people, and not that all Jews be excluded because among them are some who are unmannered and rude."

While I agree with Rabbi Krauskopf in his main assertion, I must take issue with his statement that these aggressive vulgarians are recent arrivals. I

have found the worst social offenders among the first generation of American-born Jews. The immigrant, as a rule, is a reasonably modest and unobtrusive person; and if ever he becomes unduly aggressive, intrusive, and ostentatious, usually it is only after long residence and when he has attained to considerable affluence. Also, the most offensive of all types, the "fresh" Jew, the "smart Aleck" that covets a reputation as a "kidder" of other races, never is an immigrant, so far as I have observed.

It is well to examine also the reverse side of Jewish character, lest the lessons of the obverse be lost. Comparison always is a part of social computation, and it is by the law of contrast that life's beauties are brought into relief and earth's dark places lightened; that good is made visible and evil endurable.

Objectionable traits of a certain class of Jews that disqualify them for desirable society have been told and retold by writers, both Jewish and non-Jewish, until the telling grows tiresome. Yet few, if any, of these writers, I believe, have discerned all the actual causes of such characteristics. These causes I shall endeavor to reveal.

The cultured Jew complains that an entire race is condemned because of the faults of a comparatively few individual members thereof. He fully realizes and frankly admits (to himself!) the defects of a particular class of his people, but is puzzled by the lack of Gentile discrimination that results in an all-inclusive ostracism. He fails to understand the situation because he does not perceive all its elements. It is not that the unacceptable Jew is of number proportionately greater than the objectionable ones of other races, but that by reason of being more in evidence the extent of the Jew's social sins are grotesquely exaggerated in the public eye.

Nor is the uncultured Jew more uncouth than are other peoples of corresponding class. Humanity responds almost uniformly to a common cultural impulse. In this respect the Jew does not differ from other Caucasians. Various branches of the same ra-

cial stem, given the same environment and advantages, reach an average level of culture. The apparent difference is explained by the fact that the members of other peoples are seen and appraised as individuals, while the Jew, because of his communal habits and class solidarity, is collectively considered; and his lowest social stratum is the standard by which his general cultural condition is popularly judged.

Here is the key to the misunderstanding: The Gentile masses do not meet the Jewish upper class; the Gentile upper class *does* meet the Jewish masses. The best is not in evidence, wherefore is the whole judged by the worst.

The deep need is for discrimination in differences. A way must be found for impressing upon the Gentile mind the fact that Jews, no less than other peoples, have their cultural classes, with extremes and gradations, the higher of which are not surpassed by the most superior Aryan culture.

Before going farther permit me to remark that the Jews as a whole are largely to blame for indiscriminate discrimination by Gentiles. Their own undiscriminating racial solidarity is in a great measure responsible for the Gentile attitude. They may expect to be collectively judged so long as they maintain a policy of collective defensiveness. This policy is altogether admirable when confined to matters of equity, but when extended to social affairs it is less commendable. Jews themselves discriminate against individuals and classes of their own people, yet would deny to non-Jews the same privilege. Their principle of "An injury to one is the concern of all" becomes an invitation to inclusive social ostracism when it is stretched to a "A rebuff to one is an insult to all." It is fortunate for the Jews that they are not regarded as a community of felons because they collectively rise to the defense of individual Jewish criminals.

The social condition of any people is an expression of the accumulated experience of that people, transmitted by heredity. A philosophic study of the history of the Jewish race explains sufficiently its present situation.

It is not that the Jew's faults are more or worse than the Gentile's, but that in his faults, as in other things, the Jew is different. The Gentile objects to Jewish faults because they are not his own.

Democracy is the sovereign verity of our social organization. It is essential to society's continued existence. Democracy—social, political, industrial—not only is an ideal, it is an imperative necessity. As a matter of personal association, however, democracy is a delusion. Social circles are created by the law of natural selection. They result from that affinity whereby like gravitates unto like and forms cohesion. For successful social contact there must be compatibility, congeniality.

What is known as "society," in its narrower sense, may be described as a large and comprehensive circle, within which are many small circles, the rims of which never touch. These smaller circles represent caste. Class is more inclusive than caste, for the reason that it does not impose such intimate contact. Class is collective; caste is selective. Class eligibility depends upon certain general qualifications, chiefly economic. Caste has its economic exactions, of course; after which it is a matter of affinitive attraction. There are, besides, certain forms of caste into which its members must be born (like children in exclusive apartment buildings), other entrance thereto being impossible.

Economics being the social foundation, it may be inquired why equality of wealth does not establish uniformity of caste. This is because there is gradated caste and circumscribed caste. One is a caste of levels, the other a caste of circles. The former is quite distinct from class, which is a more generic designation.

All life, all nature, consists of levels and circumferences. The earth itself is a series of geological strata; but the earth is round, with its latitudinal circles of different dimensions.

Circination and stratification are seen in everything. Even the atmosphere is stratified. Nothing in

nature can exceed the limitations of its ambit. We always are returning to the starting point. Existence, animate and inanimate, is an endless process of birth, death, and rebirth. Seasons follow their circuit with ceaseless revolution. Our vital fluids are circulatory. Verticity of progress is symbolized by the wheel. Immortality through posterity is expressed by the wedding ring. Time moves in cycles; history is a march of recurrences; planets rotate as they encircle the sun, each solar system confined to its own orbital plane. We are conscious of but three dimensions of space: we ascend, descend, circulate. Force gyrates, centripetally and centrifugally. It is not natural to follow a straight line. Every phenomenon in physics is circuitous or parabolic. Projectiles in flight describe an arc. All motions are curved. When man loses his bearings, he automatically travels in a circle.

A similar infallible law governs altitudes. Water seeks the level of its source. Man is fixed to the social plane of his individual fitness.

Human society is stratified in various layers. This fundamental formation can not be altered any more than can geological construction. Likewise, the arbitrary circumference of caste is not subject to expansion.

Caste exists in every social stratum. It rules the underworld quite as rigidly as it does the "upper crust." I have found it clearly defined among tramps and other of the substrata. It differentiates degree for beggars. It is supreme in crookdom. It dominates the *demi-monde.* None defers to caste distinctions more than does the Negro.

Inflexible influences regulate the composition of the two general forms of caste. The veritability of one variety depends for the most part upon the amount of material possessions or proficiency in the art of acquisition; that of the other is determined by certain purely social qualities. Circle caste results from affinitive selection in association.

It is necessary to comprehend the philosophy of caste as here set forth in order to understand the dif-

ferent phases of social discrimination, including Jewish ostracism.

Conscious of his own basic merits, the aspiring Jew is puzzled by his rejection by Gentile society and continues his unavailing efforts to compel recognition. He seems not to realize that social standards differ from standards of character. The Jew may be fitted by character for contact with the best, but if he lack certain superficial accomplishments he will be barred from such association.

Again, conformity is a requisite for social acceptance, and the Jew does not readily conform to any but his own. Therefore, while he may be perfectly qualified for Jewish society, he lacks the equipment essential to other circles.

Although the effect substantially is the same, the Aryan attitude is not so much a denial of social equality as a refusal of social contact. Jew and Gentile may find the same levels in life, but they occupy separate spheres and move over different orbits.

It is much more pleasant to praise than to criticise, especially those whom we sincerely like and in many things admire; but one is apt to be aware of one's own virtues without their being pointed out, and compliment is of little constructive value. The best friend is he who sees our faults and indicates them in helpful fashion. In such spirit shall I perform my duty to the Jew in this direction, and censure him unsparingly.

In considering any special defects that may mar Jewish character, we should remember that the greater part of the race still is in a state of social transition, as a result of change from centuries of unfavorable environment, and that it rapidly is evolving toward a greater excellence.

The type of Jew with which I have specifically to deal is of the crude but prosperous class. His money makes him socially ambitious, but his crassness renders him socially undesirable except among his own kind, and with these he is not content to commingle. He is eager to project himself beyond his proper element. Possessed of many admirable qualities, the one thing

he lacks is breeding. Refinement is not acquired so readily as is wealth. Breeding is a matter of more than a single generation, and with the individual it should begin in childhood.

This type of Jew is socially rejected by the cultured class of his own people, who share his resentment at the same treatment by refined Gentiles, unmindful of the words of Cicero: "Everything that thou reprovest in another thou must carefully avoid in thyself."

The Jew's offensive ostentation, his irritating assertiveness, his excessive freedom of manner and his general unrestraint are the result of a natural and an inevitable reaction from a long period of humiliating suppression.

Transformed from social pariah to social peer, his ideas and manners do not alter with his condition. Suddenly metamorphosed, figuratively, from slave to master, the transition is too rapid for him simultaneously to assume that dignity which to the master rightfully belongs.

While it is true that no person of newly acquired riches, whatever his race, suddenly takes on social culture as he takes on superior clothes, it also is true that the Gentile parvenu is not so prone as the Jew to invade those circles sacred to the personnel of polite society.

It is these flamboyant Jews, therefore, that are our sorest social infliction and who put such a severe test upon our patience. They are omnipresent, all-pervasive, inescapable. They fill our cafés, crowd our theaters, overflow our parks, monopolize our bathing-beaches and other places of public recreation—everywhere by their boisterous presence interfering with the rational enjoyment of gentle folk.

They are sensual in their tastes, gross in their habits, gaudy of attire, disgusting in their general deportment. They have not even the refinement of hypocrisy that redeems the indelicacies of the Gentile, but flaunt their garishness most frankly.

They spend lavishly, but they have not learned

to spend gracefully—which process is nearly a lost art even among other peoples. They do not know how to bestow a tip upon a servitor invisibly, nor do they wish to do so, desiring all the world to witness their prodigality.

It is in this matter of money that the Jews are unpardonably vulgar. Not only are they showy spenders in public, but in their private affairs and personal relations they have no sense of financial propriety. They bestow costly presents, but purposely leave the price-tag attached. Pridefully they show you a fine painting just purchased, but spoil the pleasure of inspection by telling how much they paid for it. They are eager that wedding guests should know the amount of the nuptial expenses. Enjoyment by others of their sumptuously appointed homes is impaired by volunteered information of the investment represented. Always they destroy esthetic and sentimental possibilities by intrusion of the commercial suggestion. Have you done them a favor, some act of personal service? They are genuinely appreciative, but their idea of suitable reciprocation is some sort of monetary return. In all things they are dominated by the dollar-mark.

But it is at their food that these Jews are seen to greatest disadvantage. They don't eat, they feed. They make of mastication a revolting operation, and their general table manners are calculated to dissipate the appetite of a fastidious diner. They are lamentably lacking in all the refined requirements of the one function in which, above all others, delicacy is demanded. Their disregard for the smaller niceties of table etiquette may be tolerated, however. Indeed, their reckless manner of manipulating food in transit, and a regard for their clothing, might dispose one to encourage their practice of tucking a corner of the napkin inside the collar and draping the rest over the chest. The habit of using their fingers for toothpicks is not quite so tolerable.

Another fault of this type of Jew is coarseness in conversation, he having a tendency to discuss in the

presence of women matters that in mixed company are tabooed by polite society.

We see him, too, on the street, in the rôle of "masher," with a repulsive smirk on his satyr-like visage, leering lasciviously at passing women; an obese animal, amorous as a goat, fatuously confident that his adipous charms are irresistible to respectable femininity—and occasionally getting his head broken as a reward. His offenses in this direction are more frequent and more flagrant than those of any other masculine breed.

These be severe words; but, being truth, they are not harsher than the facts. For these facts I am not responsible.

Jews say these same things about their own people, then are angry when we agree with them. They indict inferior kinsmen, testify for the prosecution, then protest the "Guilty" verdict of a Gentile jury.

Race defects always is a delicate subject for discussion, and in case of the Jews it is made more difficult for the present by the fact that they are suffering from a violent attack of racial hysteria.

Irrepressible by reason of his colossal conceit, it is impossible to squelch the Jew by any known manner of snubbing. Undiscouraged by repeated social rebuffs, he renews his efforts for recognition with a cheerful assurance, using the same persistence he would employ in attempting a sale of merchandise. He is abundantly endowed with that quality of confidence characterized as "cheek." Not without cause is "as nervy as a Jew" a common Gentile description of an impudent individual.

These are superficialities, to be sure, and bear no relation to intrinsic character, but they scarcely are the implements with which the Jew may hope to "jimmy" his way into Gentile high society.

If in unavoidable casual contact he is so annoying, how shall he expect voluntary close association in those superior circles to which he aspires?

Concerning this class of Jews, in full fairness it should be said that their veritable number is compara-

tively—and surprisingly—small. Even Jews seemingly do not realize how relatively few these are. Their fictitious appearance of profusion is due to the fact that they concentrate at points of greatest visibility, where their protrusive activities give them a prominence out of all proportion to their actual totality. The great body of Jews really are better mannered than the Gentile majority.

The trouble is not that the unbred Jews' manners are worse than those of the equivalent class of any other people, but that, differently from those others, their superior prosperity has raised them to the economic level of and brought them into contact with a Gentile social element with whose ideas and customs their own are not compatible.

The same objection would be found with any other people of similar social status whose economic class did not correspond with their cultural class, were we brought into association with them.

Graded in Gentile disapproval slightly above the Jews of unrelieved grossness, but actually less admirable, is the snobbish set of pseudo-culture. These affect a contempt for all things Jewish, and succeed only in making themselves contemptible. They thinly camouflage their inherent coarseness with an electroplate imitation of the manners of their Gentile neighbors. Their clumsy pretensions deceive no one; like all poor counterfeits, they fail to "pass." By their apostasy they forfeit the respect of other Jews and receive only scorn from their Gentile exemplars.

The sycophantic Jewish climber—or shall I say bounder?—is a tribeless Lazarus fawning at the feet of an unresponsive Dives, beseeching the paltry crumbs of social patronage that fall from Gentile tables. He barters an inestimable birthright for a miserable mess of cheap pottage. Born to inherit the earth, he has fallen as far from his primal estate as it is possible for the plummet of degradation to sound.

One of the most frequent causes of social complaint by Jews is their exclusion from fashionable seasonal resorts. In justice to the managements of

these resorts, it should be said that the problem is to them perplexing and their attitude in the matter is one they scarcely can avoid. Most of them doubtless feel no personal prejudice toward the Jew, and the few who may harbor such sentiment probably would not permit it to interfere with their business interests. They are actuated solely by economic considerations. Between this objectionable class of Jews and their Gentile guests there is a total lack of social affinity. They can not intermingle congenially. So, the managerial choice is made in favor of the larger clientele. Could there be discrimination between desirables and undesirables, no doubt the cultivated and congenial Jew would be welcomed alike by management and by guests; but no lines for such selection can be laid down, so there is no alternative to complete exclusion. It may be remarked that there is no similar discrimination against any other race. True, but there are no large numbers of another race with more money than manners, clamoring for accommodation. The few of other races whose riches exceed their refinement remain socially within the circles of their own respective nationalities. It is unfortunate for the Jew that money is so much more easily acquired than culture.

A little reflection should convince complaining Jews how difficult is selective discrimination. It is not possible for the management to determine what guests are objectionable until they display their offensiveness, which of course they do not do when they apply for accommodations. Besides, it is a delicate matter for a resort manager to tell a Jewish guest why he is undesirable, when the objectionableness is of a general and an indefinite nature. Surely a specific act of disorderliness is not required to justify a charge of undesirability.

Another factor in indiscriminate discrimination against the Jew is that he is so strongly marked with the brand of his blood that in the majority of cases his racial identity is instantly apparent. Were the Jews not so readily recognizable as such, their reception at social resorts would not differ from that ac-

corded to no more desirable but less obvious races. Minority distinctiveness always makes for majority discrimination.

As for those Gentiles who demand exclusion of Jews because of ill-behavior, they should be reminded that such exaction proves their own manners are not the best. It would be helpful if they would take to heart this bit of old Hebrew philosophy: "What is the test of good manners? Ability to bear patiently with bad ones."

Jews themselves prefer to go where there are no other Jews. Jewish inconsistency in this respect is illustrated by the attitude of a Jewish friend who informed me that he would spend his vacation at a certain watering-place. As in previous seasons he had gone elsewhere, I inquired why he had forsaken the accustomed resort. "Too many Jews going there now," he explained. Of course, his objection was not to Jews of his own kind, but only to that class which causes indiscriminate exclusion of Jews. Yet he also did not trouble to discriminate.

If Jews would content themselves with frequenting only such places as do not discriminate against them (which are of sufficient number and excellence) they would have no cause for complaint. But, no; wherever there is a barrier erected against him, always that is the place to which the Jew clamors for admittance. Perversely he prefers to go where he is not wanted, rather than where he is welcome. Were there resorts restricted to a Jewish clientele, Gentiles would not there intrude, nor would they take umbrage at their exclusion. The Jew, personally self-sufficient, lacks social self-sufficiency.

Exclusion of the Jew from clubs, college fraternities, and similar social organizations also is due to his offensive mannerisms and objectionable personal habits.

Yet the blatant, flashy, blustering type of Jew, boastful and aggressive, coarse in every fiber, common in all his tastes and tendencies, devoid of all the social graces, bumptious and presumptious, vociferous and

argumentative, decked in rainbow raiment and a-glitter with a plethora of diamonds, with only his wealth for a passport and rudeness his only recommendation, resents the fact that he can not bloviate his way into the parlors of the patriciate! Here is a sufficient explanation of social pogroms.

It matters not that this type of Jew is but a small fraction of the racial total, and that the large remainder is gently bred. He's always in evidence and always forcing attention, so that he is generally associated with the idea of Jewish character. Nor does it matter that class traits are mistaken for race traits. The Gentile forms his conclusions and renders his verdict from the evidence that to him is immediately visible.

Yet, it is instructive to compare the raw Jew with the coarser elements of other nationalities—a comparison favorable to the Jew. At his worst, he is in many respects much superior to the uncultured class of Italians, Greeks, Slavs, and a large number of our other neodamodes. It is not that he is less socially desirable than these, but that his undesirability is different. He may be vulgar, but he is not vicious. As for his superiority, it is fundamental. He has basic character, which the others lack. The lowest Jew has ideals and aspirations.

The point is that, not coming into contact with these other unfinished elements, we do not suffer from their shortcomings. They have not the Jew's assurance, self-esteem, and friendliness that make him an inveterate "mixer." They do not so push themselves forward. They do not readily learn our language, therefore do not seek oral communication. They colonize and confraternize. Their outing parties are picnics exclusively for their own people. They meet in halls reserved as headquarters for their countrymen. They have neither the money of the Jew nor his disposition for spending, therefore they are little in evidence at places of public pleasure. They even shun association with Americans, and when in unavoidable proximity to such are inclined to be sullen, silent, and sus-

picious. The commendable thing about them is that they do not bother us. As widely removed from our daily world as before they crossed the waters, they no more are a part of our social life than are the Martians.

Thus we see that while they are like the Jews in having no desire for other peoples to mix with them, they are unlike the Jews in not desiring to mix with other peoples.

So much for the foreign *hoi polloi.* As for the *nouveau riche,* most other races lack the Jew's facility for acquiring wealth, therefore their culture more nearly keeps pace with their affluence. Anyway, Gentile society is, as a rule, unacquainted with the unrefined parvenu of other nationalities, for the reason that he, also, is more reserved than the ambitious Jew, coming into contact chiefly with his compatriots and confining social intercourse to those of his own cultural class.

In the case of Jews of this class, the ubiquity of the few creates a mistaken notion of their number. Their perennial presence and their conspicuous conduct keep them continually in the public eye, while thousands of quiet, refined, perfectly poised Jews pass unnoticed, not taken for Jews, there being nothing in their deportment to differentiate them from well-bred Gentiles. The idea of ill-breeding is so universally associated with Jews in the popular mind that it is hard for many to believe a genteel person is a Jew.

What is the solution of the problem of social separation? How shall the Jew overcome the obstacles in his path to social parity? Some Jews, from pride, sensitiveness, or indifference, may say to let existing conditions continue. This is a monumental mistake. In these days when co-operation, understanding, and mutual good-will in racial relations are more important than ever before, it is fully as important to the Gentile as to the Jew that the social entente be established, for without it the fullest fellowship is impossible.

First, the Jew must qualify for any desired circle of society, just as he would for a degree in Masonry.

There are no clandestine circles. Each circle is as legitimate as any authentic lodge, and no candidate may gain admittance thereto unless he come "duly and truly prepared" and be found "worthy and well qualified."

The attraction of social affinity is as infallible as the law of physical gravity. In society, like seeks like as surely as metal is drawn to the magnet. One may enter the domain of the elect only when the door is opened from within. To attempt to force one's way into the circle reserved for refined society does as great violence to the social verities as an attempt to attend an exclusive function without an invitation. Such a course is of itself sufficient proof of ineligibility. The whole matter is resolved to a test of personal fitness applied by the law of natural selection.

To win social approval the Jew must mend his manners. This does not necessarily imply improved demeanor, but merely altered modes of action; often it means only conformity to the deportment of those with whom he comes in contact, which itself may have no basis of conduct more fundamental than established custom. The Jewish standard of behavior may in some instances even be superior to the non-Jewish norm, but its singularity makes it incongruous. Decorum depends upon majority usage.

Then the Jew must himself cease to practice exclusiveness. He must put aside his visible hallmark, although he should wear it always in his innermost heart. He should reduce his race emphasis, conquer his excessive self-consciousness, and be less jealous of his prerogatives. He must stand more upon his individual merits and less upon his racial rights.

He should be reasonably reciprocal. Instead, he now establishes a border-line, withdrawing into his social shell like a terrapin when his own domain is invaded, yet expects the Gentile to welcome him on the other side of the boundary. Rabbi Krauskopf says an excellent thing on this subject:

"There are non-Jews who are entirely free from prejudice against the Jew, who appreciate the service

his people has rendered to civilization, who condemn the cruelties that have been visited upon him, who are drawn toward the teachings of Judaism, who sincerely admire the many virtues that distinguish the Jew, and yet feel themselves repelled by him, feel that they are unwelcome in Jewish society, that there is no point of contact between the Jew and the non-Jew; find in the Jew a spirit that is arrogant and a manner that is offensive.''

The Jew must observe the law of social fitness that governs personal association. He must not thrust himself where he is not wanted—none can force a welcome. He can not hope to overcome the power of incompatibility. In select society, association is a matter of choice and not of chance.

Vulgarity can not effectively be veneered with wealth. It must be eliminated by polish; or, to vary the simile, like weeds in a garden—by cultivation.

For social success, the Jew must accommodate himself to accepted standards. Vogue admits of no individual variation. Good form is conformity to established custom. Propriety is a matter of common practice. Correct manners are the attitudes and actions prescribed by the cultured majority. Any departure from procrusteanized procedure is a social solecism not to be condoned. Jews, as a minority, should conform to conventions they can not alter.

One of the surest ways for a Jew to forfeit the respect of all non-Jews whose esteem is worth while, is for him to attempt to conceal the fact that he is a Jew, or to appear ashamed of it. Such an attitude will gain him only an added contempt even from the snob.

Jews should exercise greater self-discipline in converse and conduct. They lack understanding of the value of reserve and restraint as the identifying stamp of social superiority.

Desire for social distinction ordinarily is commendable. Normally, it is inspired by an appetite for superior associations, an impulse to rise to higher levels. Craving for such recognition is stronger in the

Jew than in any other people, and for sufficient reasons. But in this hunger for social honors, by aggressive tactics he defeats his own design. Conscious of his undeveloped cultural possibilities, he chafes under a sense of unacknowledged equality—even of superiority, in many things—and so, not yet having proved himself, he clamors for premature recognition while others are content to await the reward of demonstrated merit. Thus he acquires a reputation as a brazen interloper that injures his prospects and retards his natural progress. It is important that he curb this impatience for recognition and acceptance. One who is worthy may command respect, but none may successfully demand it.

Then there are those who err in the other direction. They sacrifice self-respect in their efforts for social recognition. Their eagerness is too evident. They are stationed like beggars before Society's gate. They must cease to be suppliants before they can pass the guarded portals. Let them end their genuflexions and stand erect with a proper but not an excessive pride.

Owing to the Jew's superior intelligence, he is less likely than other peoples to be pardoned his lack of breeding. Because he is supposed to know better, he is expected to do better. The crassness of his conduct contrasts too unpleasantly with his mental endowments, and he suffers from the incongruity. To make matters worse, his talents often bring him to associations that his manners outrage. In such circumstances his very merits militate against him. Commenting on these characteristics, Arnold White says: "Ability without manners is the raw material of unpopularity"; but adds, "The combination of brains and boorishness is no essential element in the Jewish character."

Execrable as are the tastes of Jewish vulgarians, they grate us no more than does the gothic coarseness of class equivalents in other races, and are not more representative of racial qualities. Take the lower class Italians, for example. The loudest Jew has less

of the barbaric love of tawdry display than have these Latin ladrones, as is witnessed by their gay garments and bizarre ornamentation. Yet in the highly sensitive and esthetic Italians of the cultivated class, with their proficiency in art and music, we find the supreme development of delicacy, and a sure sense of harmony alike in color, cadence, and conduct.

A certain great Italian tenor of peasant origin, whose golden voice has brought him golden fortune, but who is utterly gross in character and conduct, is an example of what we might expect in multitude were the lower class Italians as facile in finance as are Jews and possessed of the same instinct for intermingling. Jews of equivalent class are infinitely preferable to such.

Most of the defects of Jewish character are the result either of isolation or of reaction following isolation. In any case, it is not reasonable to expect that the Jew, under radical change, immediately should acquire a perfect social adjustment; he being unable, for all his protean powers, to adapt himself with such instant readiness to rapidly improved conditions.

Inherited influences explain the Jew's propensity for vain venditation. Pageantries of the past still cast over his mind their gorgeous shadows. Exotic examples from the land of his origin still modify his social standards. He is of the East, and in the Orient ostentation is the symbol of power, and mere external display is the only indice of superior status. There, also, the normal taste is for vivid colors, pronounced perfumes, robust flavors, and all strong and positive sensory effects.

No person of Jewish lineage, if he see to it that he is personally worthy, need be socially ashamed, regardless of the Gentile attitude toward him. Whatever his superficial shortcomings, his fundamental rank is fixed by the integrity of intrinsic character. Moreover, the Jews are exalted by their experiences. They are raised to a noble aristocracy by their royalty of wrongs. Their ideal makes of them

spiritual patricians. They are a race ennobled by the dignity of a high purpose. Beside these values how vain seems the measure of artificial standards!

George Eliot quotes Leopold Zunz: "The Jews are among the aristocracy of every land; if a literature is called rich in the possession of a few classic tragedies, what shall we say to a national tragedy lasting for fifteen hundred years, in which the poets and actors were also heroes?"

"The aristocracy of the *Mayflower,*" the editor of *The American Hebrew* reminds us, "is a late-comer compared with the aristocracy of the humblest Jew."

Habit has so accustomed the Gentile mind to an attitude of critical disapproval of the Jew in social matters that it is difficult to see good in him, and his very virtues are construed as faults.

For example, it is charged that the wealthy Jew is an intellectual toady, that he is unduly given to the cultivation of celebrities, that he displays an excessive eagerness to entertain the artistic cognoscenti. Well, what of it? Is there aught unworthy in such social impulse? Rather, is it not commendable? There is no surer means of self-improvement than attrition with the illuminati. Moreover, I have marked this difference between the Jewish and the Gentile "lion hunter": the former is more discriminating and inclines to confine his hospitable interest to persons of esthetic accomplishment—*literati,* painters, musicians. The object of his attentions must be intrinsically worth while. He distinguishes most critically between notability and notoriety, nor confuses prominence with eminence. At least he is not vulgar in his vicarious refinements. He demands reciprocal value in his complimentary associations.

Is not this desire for personal contact with specialized culture consistently in line with the loftier phases of Jewish aspiration?

It has been my observation that objection to this particular Jewish characteristic emanates chiefly from persons who do not share in these attentions because they have done nothing to deserve the compli-

ment. The elect accept the attitude pleasurably and as a matter of course in the fitness of things.

One great cause of Jewish ostracism, unrelated to any other, is the Jew's refusal to intermarry. I am not now arguing the advisability of intermarriage; I merely am stating a fact in explanation of racial exclusion. Jews are the only Caucasian people that do not wed with other Caucasians, wherefore are they the only people subject to general ostracism by related races. By this attitude they place themselves hopelessly apart, whatever other influences may tend toward inter-racial association. Biology unconsciously is the most important factor in sociology. In a compound society there is cordial intercourse because every member thereof is a potential mate for the opposite sex. According to class and caste, irrespective of race incidentals, there is universal commingling in the democracy of desire. No greater offense can be offered to race instinct than refusal of the right of marriage, and the inevitable penalty therefor is social rejection. Just as no species will accept another species in the procreation of which it can have no part, so it is with races. No people will mingle freely with another people with which it can not mate, for the mating impulse is the basis of the gregarious instinct.

It will be seen, therefore, that with the Jew it is mostly a matter of self-ostracism. The Jew alone can remove the ban. There never can be social coalescence without intermarriage—the one indispensable condition to intimate contact.

On the other hand, extensive intermarriage obviously would make ostracism impossible. Intermarriage is the alkahest of racial prejudice and the cement of social cohesion.

. . . . . .

Traveling a circuit as always, again we come to society as a collection of circles. Squaring the circle is said to be a mathematical impossibility, but perhaps by the application of altruistic principles we could reduce social circles to their linear equivalents.

REVIVAL OF ANTI-SEMITISM

TIME was when I was skeptical regarding the reality of anti-Semitism; disposed to deem it much of a myth except in old Russia and Roumania and a few other semi-barbarous countries, and discounting its depiction in those lands as exaggerated to a considerable extent.

In those days I was wont to say: "The first step in the solution of whatever social difficulties may beset the Jewish people, is for the Jew to cease regarding himself as a problem. With the cessation of such self-contemplation, the problem also will cease. The trouble with the Jew is that he is supersensitive and abnormally self-conscious. He has become a social hypochondriac. If he will but get outside himself, the rest of the world will take him as a matter of course."

O the superior sapience of youth and inexperience! That was before I had studied the problem of race antagonism and discovered that it is deeply rooted in the social soil, running down through the economic substratum.

Now I know anti-Semitism to be a flinty fact, and understand somewhat the reasons for its existence, as well as the means needful for its extirpation.

What is the meaning of the new wave of anti-Semitism that now is sweeping the world?

For a true explanation we must delve into the dullness of philosophic origins and significances.

Renewal of elemental race enmities is a common aftermath of war, which twists man's psychology until it reverts atavistically to the ruder instincts of his primordial progenitors. This effect is due partly to the envenomed propaganda that features every war, but more to the fact that orderly economic

processes have been disarranged and readjustment is difficult. It is much the same as if some cataclysmal disaster had demoralized jungle society and caused a general trespass by the jungle folk of one another's hunting trails, with consequent conflict. The predaceous instinct of carnivorous creatures is incidental to and the offspring of the protective instinct. They kill, not because they hate their quarry, but for economic ends—to supply the needs of nutrition. This quarry being non-predatory, the hunting beast battles with other carnivora only in defense of economic interest—its rights of food supply. Such considerations are the cause of all jungle feuds—that instinctive antagonism of species for species which corresponds to race antagonism in man.

Likewise, man's economic processes are predal only because they are based upon the protective instinct to provide the essentials of existence. That these processes are unnecessarily extended by an abnormal development of that instinct under artificial conditions, and devoted to surplus acquisition, is quite beside the question and does not alter the philosophy of the fundamental proposition.

Established economic processes not only were disturbed by the World War to a greater degree than ever before—they were revolutionized. Different industrial groups of previously static status find it difficult to accommodate themselves to new and unprecedented conditions.

Hereditary hatreds, partly quiescent, have been revived by the shock of war that shifted the economic balance. It is history's repeated lesson that bigotry and oppression are the bitter fruit of military conflict. Intolerance and persecution invariably spring from the seeds of blood sown on the battlefield. The emotional maladjustment that follows such a general derangement of social functions is favorable to a renewal of race antagonism.

So, the dregs of ancient animosities, long precipitated, now are stirred to the surface by subsocial agitations. The operations are directed by cunning

brains and conducted by skillful hands. The guiding minds understand well the psychology of mass ignorance. The "Jewish specter" again is thrown upon the screen in all its historic hideousness. It is the familiar propaganda to arouse a fear of invasion and conquest and enslavement—a propaganda as old as war itself.

Every ill with which the world is afflicted is laid at the door of the Jew by those marplots who desire to evade responsibility for the evil effects of their own madness. Jews are blamed for conditions in creation of which they had no hand and which they did not desire and are anxious to correct.

Owing to the wastage of war, the world is heavily laden with debt. There is a disposition on the part of most of the delinquent nations to resort to the ancient practice of forcing the Jew to bear the burden of their liabilities. Insolvent Germany, in the merciless clutch of the Allied usurers, would shift to Jewish shoulders the weight of her indemnity incubus. Other nations are not far behind in pushing anti-Semitic propaganda for profit.

It is in Central Europe—Germany, Austria, and Hungary—that anti-Semitism at this time (1920) is most rabidly rampant, although in Poland, Roumania, Serbia, Bulgaria, Esthonia, and the Ukraine the situation is but little better. In France the flames of race fanaticism are systematically fanned by the hands of official authority. Even in England, most tolerant of all lands, the movement gains momentum as the clock ticks and is being openly promoted by the reactionary press. In some of these countries the agitation is so aggressive that its printed propaganda boldly favors pogroms, and advertisements appear offering prizes for the best pamphlets against Jews. In London the fight is led by the *Morning Post,* recognized organ of the Hebrophobes, closely followed by the Northcliffe papers and strongly supported by nearly all other influential journals.

An anti-Semitic world-congress, representing a permanent international Anti-Jewish League, organ-

ized for purposes of systematic persecution, meets annually in Vienna. There has been established an English Anti-Semitic Bureau, from which pours a steady stream of anti-Jewish literature.

Discussing this international anti-Semitic campaign, the editor of *New Europe* (London) reminds us that the Jewish problem "is essentially an economic problem, although it has been much inflamed by political, racial, religious, and linguistic causes," and adds:

"Those who seek to explain recent excesses as an outburst of religious fanaticism are as wide of the mark as those who would have us believe that they were directed almost as much against Christians as against Jews. The Jews of Poland must be protected against outrage, but in fairness to the Poles it must be realized that the trouble lies very deep, and that there is no thornier problem in all Europe, or one more certain to task all the efforts of those whose duty it will be to build a new world."

Another writer in the same journal opines that this crusade of cruelty "is a temporary phenomenon, like the war itself, and will die with the causes, which now seem to us like a nightmare." In this prophecy of termination he is shortsighted indeed, unless he visions truly the causes, which is doubtful, for apparently he deems them ephemeral.

In the United States, where, because of their number and prominence, the economic influence of the Jews can make itself more effectively felt in defensive directions, the campaign is conducted with somewhat more of caution, but not less systematically. In many leading metropolitan newspapers, foreign dispatches that plainly are nothing but anti-Jewish propaganda are given first-page prominence. As a newspaper man, I realize the startling significance of this, for the press ordinarily is solicitous of Jewish sensibilities. Only organized interests of powerful influence and determined purpose could, even with the most lavish financial expenditure, procure the publication of misrepresentative matter of such definite hostility in papers

that depend largely upon Jews for their advertising patronage.

As a part of the tactics to render impotent the increasing Jewish influence, every effort is made to rupture race solidarity by setting conservative Jews against the radicals and turning both these elements against the moderates. There is small prospect of success, however, from these attempts to stir internecine strife. The Jew knows too well what mercy to expect from ravenous rivals, once the strength of the pack be broken.

There are many additional indications of an organized campaign of anti-Semitic propaganda, amply financed and systematically promoted.

What is the purpose of this propaganda? Men do not finance such costly campaigns merely from motives of personal prejudice. Obviously, they expect to derive therefrom an economic benefit commensurate with the expenditure involved.

Among social elements, we fight that which we fear. We fear that which we believe to be in some way our superior. Intelligent Gentiles do not fear physical conquest by the Jewish minority—that is an axiomatic impossibility. Therefore, it must be intellectual and economic supremacy that is feared.

What is the Jew's offense against Gentile society that all its powerful forces should thus be arrayed against him?

Simply that he has the vice of superiority and is guilty of the crime of success.

Take the case of Prof. Albert Einstein, who has been driven from Berlin University, where he occupied the chair of Physics and Natural Science. He is not being hounded because he is a Jew, but because he signally has added to the sum of Jewish achievement. This is proved by the fact that he was not molested until he won world distinction. His discovery of a new principle of relativity dethroned a Gentile demigod of science, Sir Isaac Newton, and the triumph of Jewish intellect is not to be permitted. Nor is this

persecution restricted to German Jew-baiters; it is universal. For instance, Sir Oliver Lodge, the once eminent English scientist, but now in his dotage and distinguished chiefly for his senescent puerilities, denounces Einstein's theory and declares its originator is "trying to introduce bolshevism into science." And during Einstein's visit to the United States there was a strained effort on part of the press to discredit the man and ridicule his theories. In all the journalistic fun-poking indulged there apparently was more of sinister jealousy than of genuine jocularity.

Success is of all offenses most difficult to condone. We forgive the failure, flattered by his involuntary compliment to our superior competence, but are implacable toward those who surpass us—the unpardonable sin.

Gentile society endures its own criminals and paupers, paying taxes for their restraint or maintenance, but can not tolerate the Jew, who not only takes care of himself but helps to care for the dependents of less capable races.

The most tremendous economic battle ever waged is that now in progress for group control of the world's reconstructed industries. One strategic objective in this stupendous struggle is exclusion of the Jew to whatever extent is possible, for the Jew is an economic factor that always is feared. Here we find the chief cause for an abundantly financed propaganda of anti-Semitism. Witness Henry Ford, motor magnate and one of the wealthiest men in America, who has turned his weekly journal, the *Dearborn Independent,* into an organ of propaganda against the Jews. As we read his virulent attacks we are reminded of the extensive Jewish invasion of the automobile industry. Anyway, Jews as a rule don't buy Ford machines; they prefer automobiles.

Material motives aside, we find in Ford the typical anti-Semite. Ignorance and intolerance go hand in hand. It is well for Ford that he possesses great wealth; without it he would be utterly inconsequential.

All he has is money. In all America there is not another man of prominence so devoid of everything but dollars.

It is impossible to ignore the significance attaching to the publication and distribution on a colossal scale simultaneously in this country and Europe of various books and pamphlets purporting to be authenticated exposés of a Jewish conspiracy for world-conquest and race-control. Some of these works bear the imprint of publishers of good standing. An example of this lying literature is that infamous volume (brought out by Small, Maynard & Co. of Boston), "The Jewish Peril," reputed to be "Protocols of the Learned Elders of Zion," said protocols represented as having been adopted by the Zionist Congress in Basle, August, 1897, and copies of which it is alleged were surreptitiously extracted from the official files of the Zionist organization. Another volume, "The Cause of World Unrest," containing similar charges, supported only by the same discredited documents, carries the prestige of the once honorable house of G. P. Putnam's Sons.

That any talk of a Jewish political conspiracy is neurotic nonsense all who are conversant with the character of the Jewish people and the nature of Jewish institutions are amply aware, yet many properly intentioned but poorly informed persons are befooled thereby.

Yet that there is something unusual afoot I would not deny. It is nothing new, however, but a purpose as old as the Jewish race. Its only recent feature is that these aims have received a new impetus and now approach accomplishment. This work is not being directed by any human organization, but by fundamental forces.

To bind up the wounds of a bleeding world and build a new and better civilization—

This, in substance, is the "Great Jewish Conspiracy"!

Establishment of a spiritual mandate over mankind, to the end that social justice shall rule the planet—

This is the dominion of Israel's desire.

Consecration to the higher ideals of humanity and brotherhood—

Such is the "specter" before which Christendom pales!

O Gentile fatuity! Folly too tragic for laughter, and tragedy too grotesque for tears!

I note that the Jews are organizing to combat this pernicious propaganda; but I fear they plan to fight effects instead of causes, which will result only in an intensified antagonism.

As for non-Jewish contributions to the controversy, so far they have been confined to malicious animadversions or unqualified eulogy, one of which is about as harmful as the other. Absurdly extravagant claims of virtue for the Jews will not help to quench the fires of anti-Semitic fanaticism.

Let us now examine the elements of immediate motivation in this increased opposition to the Jew. First, we perceive that intrenched economic interests resist an equitable readjustment of the social proportions made necessary by radical changes throughout organic society consequent upon evolutionary effects in all phases of living.

Then there is the rise of internationalism—an inevitability at this precise stage of social development. Now, there are two forms of internationalism, distinct and diametrically opposed. That form favored by Judaism for thousands of years and still vainly struggling for acceptance, is international liberty and brotherhood. The other form, which rapidly is being established by the agencies of autocracy, is international despotism and world subjection. The Jew, with his ideals of justice and freedom, is a stumbling-block in the path of oppressive power, wherefore is he being kicked.

For these reasons it is sought to discredit the Jew by dubbing him an "internationalist" and a "revolutionist."

Let not the Jew be disturbed by false meanings given to words.

Descendants of American revolutionists constitute the most exclusive stratum of our social aristocracy. The word "revolution" was nearly synonymous with "righteousness" in the lexicon of leaders of the élite until anti-Semitic propagandists reviled the Jews as "revolutionists," whereupon it suddenly assumed a sinister meaning.

It is the same with "internationalism." But recently this word was a sacred shibboleth. The doctrine of internationalism was popular, even fashionable—one might say it was in danger of becoming a fad. Its principles were preached incessantly, if not always intelligently, by our president. Then it inadvertently was discovered that the doctrine of internationalism was of Jewish origin and still is advocated by Jews, and lo! straightway it became anathema. And that rarely gifted opportunist, Henry Ford's salaried phrase-maker, promptly coined the epithet, "The International Jew."

Whatever ideas are associated with Jewry, in these liberalized days following the great war for democracy's safety and humanity's sake, suffer from a common contamination.

It is charged that Jewish ideals are opposed to the Gentile system. So are the ethics of Christianity, which were borrowed from Judaism. Jesus opposed the Gentile system, and was crucified. For the same reason an entire people is penalized today. The difference between Jew and Gentile in this respect is that the latter does not take his religion seriously. Christian ethics are filed away and rarely used, therefore they have no disturbing effect on society.

That Jewish ideals oppose the Gentile system is not the fault of the ideals, but of the system.

So much tacitly is conceded even by Henry Ford's hostile hack-writer, who says:

"During the formative period of their national character the Jews lived under a law which made plutocracy and pauperism equally impossible among them. Modern reformers who are constructing model social systems on paper would do well to look into the social

system under which the early Jews were organized. The Law of Moses made a 'money aristocracy' impossible because it forbade the taking of interest. It made impossible also the continuous enjoyment of profit wrung out of another's distress. Profiteering and sheer speculation were not favored under the Jewish system. There could be no land-hogging; the land was apportioned among the people, and though it might be lost by debt or sold under stress, it was returned every fifty years to its original family ownership, at which time, called 'The Year of Jubilee,' there was practically a new social beginning. The rise of great landlords and a moneyed class was impossible under such a system, although the interim of fifty years gave ample scope for individual initiative to assert itself under fair competitive conditions.''

Here is a confession of the superiority of the Jewish economic system, destroyed by the Gentiles, and an admission of its justice and beneficence. The patriarchs were wise economists. A social system that precluded monopoly of the sources of production, inhibited the taking of interest, and proscribed undue profits, insured an equable distribution of property and prevented concentration of the general wealth in the hands of a grasping few. Need we look further for a reason for Gentile opposition to the Jew?

This also is evidence that the economic iniquities charged against the Jew are not his own, but are iniquities of the Gentile system. When the equitable Jewish system was dissolved and the Jews were dispersed, they were forced to adopt Gentile methods. They needs must operate under the Gentile system or not do business at all.

Where now are grounds for the charge that Jews plan a super-system of economic oppression? In thus attacking the Jews, the minds of Gentile industrial magnates but reflect their own aims as in a mirror. What they dread is, not Jewish domination, but Jewish competition. They covet commercial monopoly.

It is charged that the Jews seek to win the world to Israel's faith. Yet the Jews practice no proselyting,

although did they do so they would but be exercising a privilege claimed by all other creeds.

There is no reason for fear in this matter. Truth's ultimate triumph is one of the inevitabilities. Should Judaism, without active proselyting, prevail in time, it will be because of the force of its verities, because of the influence of its ideals; and so its supremacy should be welcomed.

Gentiles proclaim their intention to "Conquer the world for Christ." Look abroad over the world today, where society is a seething caldron of hate, and observe what they have accomplished in nearly 2000 years of effort, a large part of that time proselyting with sword, rack, and fagot, and say what you think of the dangers of Israel's domination.

Christianity has dominated for more than a thousand years, and Christianity has not "delivered the goods." Only an unbelievable credulity could continue to support a religious system that so lamentably has failed of logical results.

Jews are not unjust enough to say that the plant of Christianity, carefully nurtured for more than nineteen centuries, found its culmination in the bloody blossom of World War. The fact is that Christianity had nothing to do with it. But the Gentiles were in control of the world's affairs, and the conflict was the fruit of the Gentile system and Gentile ideals.

The Christian church is honeycombed with anti-Semitism. That church annex, the Young Men's Christian Association, limits its Jewish membership to 7 per cent of the total. Is that the proportion of Jews it wishes to see saved? Does it desire a restricted Jewish society in heaven? Doubtless the Jew would not be admitted at all did they not need his money; and contributions from wealthy Jewish philanthropists could not consistently be expected were their coreligionists excluded entirely. In view of this rule, what right has the association to call itself "Christian"?

Testifies that talented and tolerant Christian clergyman, Dr. Henry Van Dyke, former United

States ambassador to The Netherlands: "Anti-Semitism is a form of anti-Christianity."

What, in fact, is this "Jewish menace" against which the alarm is sounded? It is that the Jew has grown sufficiently strong to break his bonds, to emerge from the condition of vassalage in which by force of superior numbers he has for centuries been held. His is the only race ever capable of achieving self-emancipation.

So long as the Jew was too weak to offer defense or make demands, he was tolerated by the better class of Gentiles in a superior and patronizing fashion that must have galled his proud and sensitive spirit. As soon, however, as he rose above the plane of condescension and grew strong enough to protect and assert himself, giving promise of coming fully into his own—as soon as he became formidably competitive in high circles—the attitude altered to one of intolerance, and a suppressive campaign was started. The presumptuous Jew must be "put in his place."

It is not that the Jew will be master, but that he should be vassal. The phenomenon of the Jew emerging from enslavement by Gentiles is mistaken for the imminence of Gentile enslavement by Jews. It is as if some animal had escaped its cage in the zoölogical garden; it matters not that it is a gentle, harmless creature; the cry goes forth that a wild animal is at large, it is assumed that it is a man-eating lion or tiger, and the panic-stricken populace arms for its extermination. By the same impulse, because the Jew once has been confined, Gentile society sees its only security in keeping him perpetually within the Pale. It is not understandable that the Jew may be free and allow others their liberty.

Whatever is admirable in others, in the Jew is cause for condemnation. He is execrated for his enterprise, anathematized for his ability, penalized for his prosperity, and stigmatized for his success.

That success he has won under incredible handicap—wrested it from a reluctant world—and it belongs to him by right of worthy conquest.

Instead of complaining of the Jew's greater success, the Gentile should strive to merit success in the same measure.

In economic contest the Gentile lacks that spirit of good sportsmanship whose slogan is, "May the best man win!"

The motive that actuates the knowing ones (in which category, of course, I do not include Henry Ford) is not dread of Jewish monopoly, but desire for Gentile monopoly.

The remedy is a curbing of the appetite for undue economic advantage, and a willingness equitably to share economic benefits. Only the Jew manifests this fairness of attitude. He is willing that the Gentile should get what he can, but the Gentile is unwilling that the Jew should do any of the getting. He so long has enjoyed economic domination that he determinedly resists divided control, so makes modern application to the Jew of the frank old Pharaoh's adjuration to his people: "Behold, the people of the children of Israel are more and mightier than we: come on, and let us deal wisely with them, lest they multiply."

Instead of criticising Jewish co-operative methods (which merely are the spirit of human helpfulness applied to action), which, aiding the Jew's natural ability, contribute so much to his success, the Gentile would do well to adopt those methods as a substitute for his heartless cut-throat competition.

To conciliate the Gentiles and satisfy the active anti-Semites, the Jew must deny that he has brains, disclaim business success, suppress his aspirations, extinguish his ambitions, discard his traditions, relinquish his hopes, repudiate his ideals, and forsake the mission that is the foundation of his faith. He must not exercise his talents, must allow his abilities to atrophy, because such activity interferes with Gentile interests. He must deny that he is or can be a forceful factor in the world's affairs, that he has any qualities of leadership—that, in fact, he is of any human consequence whatever. Then he must declare himself opposed to any improving change, because

it is "revolutionary"; he must proclaim himself a proponent of injustice and oppression; he must conceal his convictions and compromise his manhood. Is not this a price heavier than he willingly would pay?

If Jews reject their mission, if they be not truly champions of the changing order, then there is no special reason they should be received of men or chosen of God.

Instead of running to cover, the Jew should stand by his colors and stick to his guns.

Rabbi Harry A. Merfeld was altogether right when he said: "If the Jew has any honor in him he will stand up for his rights, even though it have the tendency to array the world against him in greater numbers."

As the first yielding to the demands of the blackmailer paves the way for future extortions, so any surrender to the exactions of anti-Semites leads to further concessions without end.

Instead of apologizing for his presumption in living, the Jew should tell the Jew-baiters—politely, of course—to "Go to hell." That's where ultimately they will go, anyway, but they should be urged not to delay unduly their departure.

The Jew has no desire for dominance. All he asks is a fair field and an even chance. But if the Gentile will not concede economic equality, forcing upon the Jew the necessity of dominating or being dominated, who shall chide him for choosing the alternative of domination?

The Jew has no desire to dispossess the Gentile. Instead, he would share his own inheritance.

The Jew does not aspire to rule the world, but he would aid to his utmost in making world-rule righteous.

That which is mislabeled a "Jewish movement" is but the activity of the forces of universal change working out in a social crisis a new and necessary epoch in human conditions. It is true, however, and fortunately so, that in this process of beneficent trans-

formation the helpful Jew takes a conspicuous and a creditable part.

Suppose, just for sake of a momentary diversion, all these lying statements were true—suppose Jews really plan a world super-government—what cause is there for apprehension? It could not be more selfish, deceptive, and oppressive than the Gentile misgovernment under which we so long have managed to exist. For myself, I am willing to take a chance and would welcome a change. I do not fear from the justice-loving Jew more of inequity than has been inflicted upon us. I can detect no danger that the peace-promoting Jew would plunge us into a war more devastating than the world-conflict so recently ended. I do not apprehend that the freedom-devoted Jew would further restrict the popular liberties. It is reassuring to reflect that if the Jew should not better conditions, at least it is impossible for him to impair them. In the words of Swinburne, "the worst that can be has been done." Our knowledge of Jewish nature and methods assures us of one thing—under Jewish administration we would have efficiency, conservation, and constructiveness.

Why, then, should the Gentile dread "Jewish domination"—that fearsome specter born of the incestuous mating of *mania a potu* and mince-pie incubus?

Suffering what it does under Gentile rule, what has the world to fear from Jewish domination? Even were the Jew disposed toward despotism, which is the opposite of the truth, he could add nothing to Aryan autocracy.

It may seem that I speak with undue harshness of my own race; but when I think on what Aryan autocracy has done to the world, then think of what Jewish democracy might do *for* the world were opportunity given, I feel such severity is fully justified.

The latest weapon against the Jew is the new United States restrictive immigration law, specially framed in accordance with recommendations of anti-Semitic consuls in European countries of large Jewish

population. These hostile consuls openly boast of their part in procuring the enactment of this legislation. There has been little pretense regarding the real purpose of the law. Had doubt existed concerning its design, this would have been dispelled by the elimination from the original measure of the clause exempting from its provisions "refugees from political or religious persecution." Jews are the only class to which such description now applies. At any rate, the law operates effectively in excluding Jews while admitting a reasonable quota of all other races, thus satisfying our consul at Tiflis, who, upon request from the State Department for advice concerning the desirability of Jewish immigrants, replied: "Our restrictions on immigration should be so rigid that it will be impossible for these people, or most of them, to enter the United States." Further to insure Jewish exclusion, the law invests our foreign consuls with discretionary powers of discrimination in viseing passports, which they exercise in the manner expected.

The truth is that Jews are the most desirable class of immigrants. They are intelligent, industrious, thrifty, law-abiding. They do not contribute to the economic and social conditions generally complained of as a consequence of immigration. Most of them have money; those that have not are cared for by co-religionists, therefore can not be classed with "pauper immigrants" that become a public burden. They do not complicate an already serious labor situation. Yet these worthy people, fleeing from Old World tyrannies, are denied the right of asylum. They must remain to be murdered. America, "sanctuary of the oppressed," shuts her gate upon them when they seek to escape the shambles.

Ford's indictment of the Jews contains at least three true counts:

1. That the Jews have [Judaism has] a World Program.
2. That the Jews are capable and successful.
3. That the Jews are friends of freedom.

Objection is not made to these truths themselves,

but to their misapplication and distortion, to the false and sinister significance attached to them, and to the misleading and malicious conclusions drawn therefrom.

Let us analyze these charges, that we may determine to what degree they reflect reprehension upon the Jews.

It is admitted that the Jew [Judaism] has a World Program. So have Christians and Christianity. So have the liquor prohibitionists. So had President Wilson. Yet none of these latter have been called conspirators and traitors because of the scope of their purposes. Any movement or mission that is worth while must have a World Program. Most of all should Judaism have a World Program, for the reason that the Jews are distributed over the world. In the very nature of things any proposition affecting the entire Jewish people is international in character, because they are a part of the life of every nation. To object to a Jewish World Program amidst the present multiplicity of World Programs merely is another manifestation of the old policy of race-restriction. Yet invariably such a World Program is met with a World Pogrom.

Yes, the Jews are capable and prosperous. What would you? Is it preferable that, instead of the Jew being well able to take care of himself, he should be a public charge? His self-sufficiency is admirable. And in proportion to his personal prosperity he contributes to the general prosperity, being thereby a communal blessing. If success be a crime, then the Jew is guilty as charged. But Mr. Ford should be the last person to detect criminality in commercial success and assume the rôle of complaining witness. Is prosperity exclusively a Gentile prerogative?

If the Jew surpasses the Gentile in business, his superior success is due to ability, constructive methods, and co-operation. Instead of indulging in envious execration, the Gentile should rejoice in the Jew's achievements, adopt his system and share his success.

The third charge declares that the downfall of

Prussian autocracy was due to the efforts of the Jews. "The sole winners of the war were Jews," asserts Mr. Ford. The seriousness of this offense should not be underestimated. It becomes increasingly evident that Jew-haters and Jew-baiters in high places had no real desire for the destruction of kaiserism, but simply that Germany's economic strength be broken. But the Jew blundered. In his own sincerity he took their protestations seriously and wrecked the junker system by revolution. This is an inadvertence not to be forgiven.

Also, it is gravely charged that the Jews are responsible for the overthrow of the Russian despotism. Can there be conceived a greater crime than that of battering down this bulwark of civilization? Could turpitude of the foes of good government further go? Could the nefarious enemies of society perpetrate a more appalling iniquity? Instead of revealing their innate baseness by such betrayal, the Jews should have demonstrated the beauties of patriotism and loyalty and gratitude by upholding the beneficent Romanoff rule.

The fact is that the class responsible for the recent great growth of anti-Semitism desire above all other things the re-establishment of the Old Order that was demolished by war. They would have czardom restored, the kaiser recrowned, and autocracy ascendant throughout the world.

The chief obstacle to this objective is the liberty-loving, future-looking, verity-visioned Jew.

Those who cry the alarm do not themselves fear Jewish world-control, well knowing such thing as race-control is not possible. What they do fear is Jewish economic competition. The Jews have broken the Gentile economic monopoly maintained for centuries by force. Gentiles oppose the Jew coming into his own, so long withheld. Now that in civilized countries the Jew has grown too strong to be massacred, or deprived of his political rights, or robbed without redress, other means for his suppression are sought. Hence, this prodigious propaganda of misrepresentation, the aim

of which is to inflame the minds of the ignorant masses and cause them to destroy legitimate Jewish competition with the bludgeon of the boycott.

An editorial in the Chicago *Tribune* for Dec. 3, 1920, seeks to belittle the seriousness of the situation, and concludes as follows:

"We do not think anti-Semitism will make much headway in this country, unless the Jews themselves should organize Semitism and attempt thus to influence public policy for special causes or for particular Jewish interests."

This can be nothing else than a veiled threat, a thinly masked warning, a notice served on the Jews not to make any organized fight against the highly organized forces that seek their suppression; that there must be no systematic effort to counteract the effect of this propaganda, no attempt to neutralize its widely disseminated poison.

If I may be permitted modestly to express an opinion, I do not believe the Jews are meeting these attacks with good defensive tactics. With calculated cunning the enemy formulates charges that are a confusing mixture of truth and mendacity. Their method is much like that of the unscrupulous lawyer who insisted that an opposition witness should answer "Yes" or "No" to the unwarranted question, "Have you stopped beating your wife?" In case of the Jew, discriminative explanation were better than sweeping denial. Why should the Jew feel under any obligation to deny that he has brains? That he is successful in business? That he is proficient in the arts and professions? That he despises tyrants, and prefers political democracy to governmental despotism? That he desires social improvement and aims at world-betterment?

As of old the Jew from necessity denied his prosperity and concealed his wealth, so now he deems it the part of wisdom to deny his virtues and cover his lofty purposes before the lifted threat of those of lower ideals and baser aims. Must the Jew for self-protection forever wear a mask? No! The time has come for

him to emerge from the shadows, stand erect in the open, doff all disguise, and face the foe with an honest defiance. Such is the only way he can win rightful respect and complete security. He now is strong enough to do this, and he should use his strength.

It plainly can be seen to what this apologetic attitude logically will lead. If continued, it will result in repression of all Jewish aspiration, the checking of Jewish achievement. Does a Jew succeed in commercial enterprise? This is evidence sufficient that he aims at economic world-control. Is a Jew ambitious for public office? He is a traitor plotting overthrow of the government. Does a Jew seek to promote the principles of Judaism? He is member of a cabal that conspires to destroy Christianity. Does a Jew display conspicuous ability as a banker? He is engaged in international financial intrigue. In the face of this situation, the Jew must boldly maintain his rightful position or retire from life's larger activities; he must fight fearlessly, else supinely surrender. Any compromise of action, any middle course, means that in time we shall have in America anti-Semitic pogroms as severe as those now in progress in Central and Eastern Europe.

It is not beyond the province of probability that there is a beneficent basis for this new anti-Semitic agitation; that those who wield the scorpion scourge are but puppets of a noble and necessary purpose. As the touch of the spur is needed to quicken a lagging steed to the journey's end, so it may be that the sting of the lash of persecution is needful to stir the Jew from a growing indifference to the significance of his mission, revive a flagging interest in the verities of Judaism, arouse him to a realization of neglected duties, renew his devotion to Israel's ideal, and speed him toward the ordained goal.

Anti-Semitism, instead of being destructive, always has proved a conserving force. With the withdrawal of this constricting pressure, cohesion lessens and the tendency is toward communal disintegration.

Despite the poison propaganda now being given

world-wide dissemination, there is no cause for alarm in the prospect of Jewish ascendancy. Whatever the economic influence of individual Jews, moral conquest and spiritual supremacy are Israel's only imperialistic intent. All its traditions, all its teachings, all its ideals and inspirations, point to this single purpose.

Jewish life is deeply inlaid with tradition. To those traditions the great body of Jews hold steadfastly true. In them they find the bond of their spiritual unity. Once these were repudiated, their collectivity would cease and they no longer would be an effective force for the accomplishment of any common aim. The power of the Jew consists of the potent integrity of his ideals. To impair those ideals would be to injure himself; to weaken them would be to surrender his own strength; to betray them would be self-betrayal. They are an integrant part of his intrinsic being.

If to attain spiritual sovereignty it is necessary for the Jew to acquire economic supremacy, such condition of conquest is but incidental to the end.

The Jewish ideal would lift our life from the purely economic plane to the ethical plane. But our ethics can be no better than our economics, for human actions must respond to the requirements of economic necessity. Therefore must there be an economic readjustment along more rational lines, that there may be a more liberal adjustment of our social life.

Necessarily, the work of reconstruction is mostly economic, and as the Jew has the larger share in those labors it inevitably follows that for the fullest success of his efforts he must exercise the greater economic control. The aid is accepted, but the control is resisted.

Of the harvest of hate that follows in the wake of war the Jews reap a larger share than any other race. This fact is due in a measure to differing racial ideals. The Aryan ideal, of newer growth, is crowded with the crudities of immaturity. The Jewish ideal has the advantage of superior age. It has developed further, has evolved to greater heights. It has journeyed

long, and it is not strange that the Aryan ideal, in its few short steps from ethical barbarism, should not have overtaken.

The Jew's purposes are pacific, his pursuits are those of peace. He is a promoter of progress, and war puts a brake on the wheel of human advancement. The Jew would produce instead of destroying. His conservatory and constructive mind sees in the wanton waste of war a transgression of economic law that violates the unities of rational life.

The Jewish ideal would elevate the plane of existence, would lift humanity to higher levels. It would clothe life with beauty and crown it with truth.

For this exalted ideal, because it contravenes crasser ideals, the Jew is hated, and will continue to be hated

"As long as the tribes of men shall see
A lesser glory in arts than wars."

This has been long, but not much longer will be. The Jew will come into his heritage, and soon. Nothing now can keep him from his own. Even the present generation shall see the Jewish ideal prevail over all our planet. This, because nothing else will suffice our new social needs.

The Jewish race well may repeat the words of John Burroughs' poem, "Destiny," which fitly might have been written for Israel's inspiration:

"Serene I fold my arms and wait,
Nor care for wind, or tide, or sea:
I rave no more 'gainst time or fate,
For lo! my own shall come to me.

"I stay my haste, I make delays,
For what avails this eager pace?
I stand amid the eternal ways,
And what is mine shall know my face.

. . . . . .

"The stars come nightly to the sky;
The tidal wave unto the sea;
Nor time, nor space, nor deep, nor high
Can keep my own away from me."

In its last analysis anti-Semitism is the struggle of reactionary elements, representing the old autocracies, against the forces of progress, exemplified in the Jewish social ideal.

The present fury of fanaticism will expend itself, and never more be renewed; anti-Semitism will pass, not to reappear. The hot lashings of racial hate that now scourge the Chosen Children are the last desperate convulsions of an expiring serpent—the throes of dissolution. This is race fanaticism's final offensive against the marching hosts of human advancement.

Because the Jew is constructive, because he is the world's great builder, he will erect his own Arch of Triumph that shall span the entire expanse of civilization. For this crowning purpose has he so strangely been preserved. As the result of a world-wrecking war, our antiquated social structure is in a state of utter collapse; but under the Jew's creative hand, as the fabled phœnix arose from the ashes of its own consuming there will arise from the dust and débris of this shattered fabric a new and a nobler edifice.

THE FORDIAN FRENZY

IT is well now to pass from anti-Semitism in general to Ford anti-Semitism in particular. This is because Henry Ford is the foremost figure in the American anti-Semitic campaign, the one prominent participant that stands forth in the open, acting as spokesman for ambushed forces.

We can not hope to understand anything of Mr. Ford's motivations without knowing something of the man. Perhaps we shall not understand them at all. We can only try.

It is not my desire to abuse Mr. Ford, but to analyze him. I wish merely to weigh him in the balance of an impartial judgment.

We first must consider the Ford psychology. Ford has a peculiar mentality. We know he is a monomaniac, and we might be justified in suspecting he is a paranoiac; paranoia is not confined to superior minds, and the delusion of "conspiracy" is its most marked manifestation. We know the man is a megalomaniac; always has he aspired to be a leader of men. The trouble with him as a leader is that nobody wants to follow him.

The Ford psychology is not complex. Ford has the mechanical mind. Lacking imagination, his mentality is like a machine. An idea introduced into his consciousness by a more intelligent person becomes permanently a part of his cerebration, like a cog in a piece of inanimate mechanism.

Because Ford, like one of his machines, lacks the reasoning faculty, he is not adaptable. He can adjust his mind, but he is unable to readjust it. Lacking imagination also, as has been said, he perforce lacks originality. His mind is not static, as some who dislike him declare; his thought moves forward, but it

follows a groove—a groove prepared for it by other minds.

Many who dislike Mr. Ford fail to measure him accurately. Those who descant upon his complete smallness, insisting that there is nothing large about him, evidently overlook the immensity of his ignorance —a thing of proportions quite as great as his wealth. It is something conspicuously to surpass one's fellows even in this respect.

We should, however, be gently charitable toward Henry Ford. Ignorance is not a crime; it is a calamity.

Mr. Ford likely does the best he knows how. If he knew better, doubtless he would do better. There will, therefore, be an absence of malice in all I shall say of him. It is to be hoped he will accept it in the same kindly spirit.

Ford is a confessed ignoramus. He says he knows nothing of history, belles-lettres, art, or music, believing these to be banalities. Likewise, by his own admission, he is not informed on world affairs or the major current events. It may be argued to his credit that he confesses his ignorance. There is small virtue, however, in admitting the apparent.

As a witness in his million-dollar libel suit against the Chicago *Tribune,* Ford presented a sorry spectacle, one to arouse pity rather than amusement. It will be recalled that in replying to questions by opposing counsel he said Benedict Arnold was a signer of the Declaration of Independence; also, he anachronistically supposed the arch-traitor of the American Revolution was a fiction writer, confusing him with Arnold Bennett, the contemporaneous English novelist. Had the cross-examination been sufficiently prolonged, it probably would have brought out that Ford thought it was George Washington who attempted to betray the West Point garrison to the British forces, that Abraham Lincoln was president of the Southern Confederacy, and that Frederick Douglass was a circus albino. Were he on the witness stand today it doubtless would develop that he thinks Carrie Chapman Catt is a caba-

ret dancer, that Albert Einstein is a Chicago clothing manufacturer, and that Jerusalem is the governmental seat of the Irish Republic.

It is not, therefore, impolite to say Mr. Ford is ignorant. He cheerfully admits it.

Ford is not without knowledge, of course; but it is painfully limited. He knows how to make and sell cheaply a certain type of autocar that is the English sparrow of motordom. He may not be intelligent, but he knows how to employ intelligence; he is a successful broker of other men's brains.

Moreover, ignorance should not be confounded with lack of intelligence; it merely is lack of information. Henry Ford is not informed.

It is not well to belittle Ford too much. It can not reasonably be denied that he has ability of a kind. Success such as he has won, men do not achieve by accident.

So, it may be said even, in qualified retraction, that Ford is not unintelligent. The intelligence that builds colossal fortunes, however, is not high or fine; it only is rare. It seldom is identified with esthetic intellectuality.

Let us concede, then, that Ford has industrial intelligence. Aside from that, he is conspicuously inconspicuous.

Still another distinction may well here be made. Intelligence is not identical with wisdom, any more than it is equivalent to knowledge, which differs from both. One may possess intelligence, not great in degree or high of quality, and yet be a fool; for the fool not necessarily is an imbecile. A fool is a person who habitually does foolish things. Henry Ford is the strangest sort of fool of which there is any record. Unlike most fools, he knows he is a fool, and admits he is a fool, yet attempts the impossible feat (for a fool) of impersonating a wise man.

The most foolish of the many foolish things in Ford's career is his campaign of calumny against the Jews—which appraisal elevates it to the extreme altitude of folly. The full foolishness of his course he yet will discover.

In any general judgment of Henry Ford it should be borne in mind that he is a peculiar person, to whom can not be applied the standards by which ordinary men are measured. He is consistent only in his inconsistency. His erraticism is so anomalous that many of his actions appear without motivation, and they may not be analyzed by any rational process of psychonomy. He is a mental freak and a spiritual abnormality. He has a brain—as distinguished from intellect—from the composition of which all the finer faculties were excluded. If he has a soul, its wings are clipped and it never soars. Nature by some unaccountable whim has denied him the esthetic sense, and by his own admission he delights not in music or any other of Art's delectable expressions. A master canvas has for him no more merit than the crudest daub. He lacks imagination, that supreme gift of the gods which lifts man above the lower levels of animal creation and makes him dweller in high spiritual domains. An inspired poem bores him inexpressibly. The noblest architectural creations appeal not to his nature. The fragrance of a flower delights not his dull senses, and for him the flaming sunset burns its beauty on the sky in vain. He has not even that human impulse which thrills responsively to the heroisms recorded in the history of his race. All this, mind you, according to his own public testimony. Such an unfortunate creature is blind to all life's splendid significances and deaf to its exquisite harmonies. His psychic deficiencies remove him from the humanizing influence of all cultural effects. All he knows is how to make money by making cheap motor cars. His brain is a mechanism hardly higher than that of one of the paltry products of his own factory. How should such an one be expected to comprehend Israel's magnificent meanings or to judge the Jews with a righteous understanding?

One of the best things ever said about Henry Ford is this epigram by Charles H. Joseph: "On the subject of making automobiles Ford is perfectly normal."

The animus of Ford's attack on the Jews never

has definitely been determined. Various hypothetical explanations have been offered. It is said that when Ford needed to borrow many millions for establishment of new industrial enterprises and extension of old ones, he found money unexpectedly high, and in his profound ignorance of basic economic laws he blamed Jewish international bankers for the raised interest rates. In this logical situation, due entirely to natural causes, his distorted vision saw a Jewish financial conspiracy against himself. It is a curious combination of egotism and credulity that can cause any man to suppose the world's monetary system has been revised for his individual hampering.

Another theory is that Ford conceived a violent dislike for and distrust of the Jews as a result of his unfortunate experience with Rosika Schwimmer, a Hungarian Jewess, on board the "peace ship," *Oscar II.* This episode is said to have imbued him with the idea of a general Jewish conspiracy to discredit him.

Again, it is asserted that when certain of Ford's business undertakings went wrong he saw in his difficulties evidence of a Jewish conspiracy for his commercial undoing.

Still another explanation is that Ford's attitude is due to political disappointment. A witness at the Senate committee's hearing in Ford's contest for Senator Newberry's seat, testified that Ford ascribed the defeat of his senatorial candidacy to "a general conspiracy of the Jews."

At every turn we find evidence of this "conspiracy" obsession that points to paranoia.

Only an exaggerated egotism that impinges on insanity, it seems, could conceive that an entire race would conspire to ruin an individual. Yet Ford evidently believes that such a cabal exists to compass his financial, political, and personal downfall. The absurdity of such a supposition is apparent. The Jews are a busy people, with varied interests. Did they devote as much attention to Ford as he fancies, they would have no time to attend to their own affairs and there soon would be a race receivership. Ford is not

a victim of Jewish intrigue; he is a victim of his own inflated sense of self-importance. He suffers from elephantiasis of the ego.

Insisting that he is persecuted by the Jews, the visionary and vehicular Mr. Ford fain would progress from motordom to martyrdom.

The probable truth is that Ford's antipathy for the Jews originally was due to a combination of the different causes enumerated, with others added. But in my opinion this does not fully account for his present actions. I prefer the theory that his imagined grievances merely made his shallow mind receptive to the poisoned suggestions of more subtle mentalities.

It is possible that Mr. Ford is a sincere but misguided man. It is almost certain that to some extent he is the dupe of designing men of more wisdom and less courage than he. Ford has the intrepidity of ignorance. Others with sufficient discretion to remain in the background use him for their pernicious purposes. The real designers and directors of anti-Semitic activities, cunningly keeping under cover when not appearing publicly as defenders of the Jews to deflect suspicion from themselves, find in Ford a convenient dummy.

So, in the matter of the Jews, it easily may be that Ford is more sinned against than sinning. My chief feeling for him is one of pity that he has not a larger and more varied intelligence. All he knows is to make machines and money. He has no understanding of life's loftier meanings. We can pardon much in a man with such deficiencies.

It is not unlikely that by this time even the credulous Ford realizes he has been misled regarding the Jews, but is stimulated in a continued hostile campaign by his passion for publicity. He is intoxicated with the noxious wine of notoriety. A man who will hire professional humorists to write coarse jokes about himself is capable of almost any self-advertising crassness.

Ford finds expression for his animosity toward the Jew through his literary lackey, William J. Cameron, in the columns of the *Dearborn Independent*. Forty-

two of Cameron's articles have been republished in the two volumes of "The International Jew." The first nine of these dissertations consist of an adroit admixture of truth and mendacity that is the most dangerous of all misrepresentation and the most difficult to combat. It is an axiom that half-truths are the hardest libels successfully to controvert. Many facts are given, but they are misinterpreted and misapplied, their meanings distorted, their purposes perverted. Things harmless in themselves are by unwarranted implication and illegitimate association given a mischievous semblance.

Also, it must be said for these first nine articles that they are done with remarkable ability. From a literary viewpoint, they are the work of an artist. They are amazing examples of crooked craftsmanship by one who juggles the laws of logic with surpassing skill. The thing is so dexterously done that their reading is a real diversion. There is a notable letdown in the quality of the later articles, dealing with the alleged "Jewish Protocols." They are so different in manner that one might suppose them to be the work of another and an inferior hand. Perhaps this is because of the character of the material, which is apochryphal throughout, although shrewdly calculated to convince the undiscriminating mind. It consists chiefly of fantastic charges of an international Jewish conspiracy for the subversion of Gentile government and the submersion of Gentile society. Whereas the earlier articles are an insidious mixture of truth and mendacity, these are a concoction of unadulterated untruth.

Limitations of space preclude a detailed consideration of this work. It would require a formidable volume to give adequate attention to the absurdities, contradictions, and inconsistencies with which the two books abound. Some of these are pointed out in the chapter immediately preceding. A few others from the many hundreds now will be taken up.

First attention will be given to the second volume, because it starts out with an arrant absurdity—in its

preface. There the author says: "If the statements in these articles are false, they are of a nature that can be refuted with facts."

This is not true. A program similar to that ascribed by Mr. Ford to the Jews has by the popes of Rome long been attributed to the Masonic order, of which, I believe, Mr. Ford is a member. Can Masons refute these charges with facts? Not at all. The only thing they can offer in refutation is personal testimony. If a thing exists or has existed, this may be proved by facts. If it always has been non-existent, there are no facts to disprove its existence. Should Mr. Ford commit the highly improbable act of murder, there would be facts which, if available, would establish his guilt. But could the doubtless unhomicidal Mr. Ford disprove an alleged desire or intent to murder? Hardly. Were a high-minded gentleman charged with beating his wife, could he vindicate himself with facts? No; only with the unchastised wife's testimony. No negation can be proved or disproved. The only possible defense for a person or group of persons falsely accused is testimony, circumstances, and the law of probability. Upon the principle here set forth is based the universal rule in jurisprudence that the burden of proof rests with the prosecution. Mr. Ford has introduced no competent evidence. What he needs is a capable lawyer.

Despite his admitted ability, the author of these articles is unable to make them consistent, because he lacks the one basic element of consistency—unmixed truth. To provide an essential background for his thesis, he is forced to certain fatal admissions, attributing to the Jews such a variety of virtues as must nullify the charges of incredible iniquity he brings against them.

Again, notwithstanding the general adroitness of method, these books are crowded with statements delivered *ex cathedra* with a reckless disregard for readily ascertainable facts. As an example of this, it is said the Jews control the world's fur market. Now, among the great family fortunes founded on the fur

trade, such as that of Astor the German, appears none of Jews. How about the Hudson's Bay and the Northwestern companies? The International Fur Exchange of St. Louis, recently suspended, but for many years the world's greatest fur mart, selling as much as $25,000,000 worth of pelts at a single auction, was controlled by Gentiles. Had Jews been in control, it probably still would be operating. It is true that many Jews are in the retail fur trade, but any industry is controlled through the sources of production and channels of distribution. I wish it were true that the Jews control the fur trade, that I might add another to the long list of their worthy achievements.

An equally glaring inaccuracy is the assertion that "landlordism is peculiarly a Jewish ambition and distinction; the Jew is the Landlord of America." It is strange that the writer should make a statement so easily disproved. Most of Manhattan's realty is in the hands of the Astor estate, the Vanderbilt estate, the Stokes estate, and a few other old family estates. In Cincinnati, landlordism is represented by the Emery, Sinton, Perin, Longworth, and similar estates. The bulk of Chicago tenant property is held by the estates of Potter Palmer, Marshall Field, and other pioneer plutocrats, all Gentiles. The situation is the same in Boston, Philadelphia, Cleveland, St. Louis, San Francisco, and other centers of population.

It is said Jews own most of the theaters in the United States, which is true. What is wrong with this fact? Such ownership is by right of purchase, therefore is as legitimate as if vested in Gentiles. It is difficult to see wherein present Jewish monopoly is less desirable than previous Gentile monopoly. It also is said that the Jews by debasing the stage have debauched the public mind. This is untrue. Jews are in the theatrical business for profit, to realize which they must give the public what it wants. They can not create tastes or control tendencies. As Ford's statistician figures 10 per cent as the highest possible proportion of Jewish theater-goers, if Jewish managers and producers have lowered stage standards to satisfy

a degraded popular demand, that fact indicts the Gentiles, not the Jews.

Another charge is that the policy of Jewish managers is to produce the work only of Jewish playwrights. The falsity of this is proved by the fact that Ibsen's are the plays most frequently appearing on the Yiddish stage in New York.

As evidence that the League of Nations is but an agency for Jewish world-control, it is asserted that the president of the League Council is a Jew. Now, it happens that Paul Hymans is only half Jewish, so it would be quite as logical to assume that he is involved in an anti-Semitic conspiracy as that he is in a conspiracy against the Gentiles. In either case he would be conspiring against his own blood.

It is submitted, as another proof of Jewish international ascendancy, that "a Jew is president of France." Alexandre Millerand also is a demi-Jew. Perhaps the recent rapid growth of anti-Semitism in France indicates that he is following the bent of his Gallic blood. Such reasoning is equally as good as Mr. Ford's.

One of the wholly unfounded charges in these articles is that Jews are the "I. W. W. leaders in the United States today." Not one of the general officers of that organization, from "Big Bill" Haywood down, is a Jew.

Among the methods described in the Protocols for bringing about Gentile decadence and Jewish supremacy, is that of "encouraging them [the Gentiles] in the use of alcohol." In another place the conspirators exult over the fact that "the people of the Gentiles are stupefied with spiritous liquors." Yet, with all the political power and economic influence that has been ascribed to them, the Jews permitted passage of the Volstead act prohibiting the liquor traffic! Rather poor results for the conspiracy to destroy Gentile society by alcoholic debauch.

Much effort is made to connect the Jew discreditably with the World War. It is charged that Jewish bankers instigated the war for financial advantage;

that it was promoted by other Jews for purposes of Jewish power. During the war J. P. Morgan was the financial representative and purchasing agent in this country of Great Britain, which acted as disburser to the allied governments. We know Morgan dominated the financial group that dictated all our nation's war attitudes, directing our international policies, our foreign relations, our legislative enactments, our loan decisions, our industrial operations, our economic life. J. P. Morgan is of English extraction, an Episcopalian of Quaker antecedents, and probably is related to Sir Henry Morgan, the notorious British buccaneer, who was knighted by Charles II. for his success in piracy.

What a fine chance Morgan gave the Jewish bankers to share in the immense profits of war financing may be deduced from Count Witte's statement in his "Memoirs" that the present Morgan's father agreed to aid Russia with a loan just after the Russo-Japanese war on condition that the czar's government would have no dealings with Jewish bankers. Which episode causes Charles H. Joseph to remark with irresistible satire that while Morgan the vestryman evidently thought quite well of Jesus the Jew, "apparently he did not have much use for all the others."

This is not to hold the Jew guiltless of illegitimate war gains. Of course there were Jewish profiteers, independent operators unloved of the "trust." It would be strange if in the frenzied riot of robbery no Jew had participated. There was a certain quantity of financial fluidity to be absorbed, so why should not the Jews have held forth some of the sponges?

The keynote of these books is the sin of Jewish superiority. As ever are Jewish virtues accounted as vices. It is the old appeal to sordid selfishness, the same stirring of the dregs of economic enmity, the ancient argument that whatever contributes to Jewish prosperity is inimical to Gentile interests.

The Jew is condemned for those things for which other peoples are commended. It is complained that he is competent, that he prospers, that he is self-sufficient, instead of being a drone and a dependent. It

is a strange sort of reasoning that finds an economic enemy in a people that provides for its own poor, thus relieving Gentile taxpayers of any share of the burden, at a time when such a large part of the public revenues are required for eleemosynary purposes.

If the Jews acquire wealth, it is because of superior ability and greater industry; if they achieve leadership, it is because of winning initiative; if they possess distinctive proficiency in the arts and professions, it is because of worthy talent and the toil of preparation. Whatever of success the Jew enjoys he has abundantly earned, and it belongs to him by the most inalienable of all rights—the reward of excellence and effort.

Leaving these general charges against the Jews, let us now consider the Protocols. There is much speculation as to the origin of these documents. The fact that the identity of their authorship never has been established is sufficient evidence of their spuriousness. Anonymity itself destroys authenticity.

I am unable to agree with those critics who call these forgeries clumsy. I deem them extraordinarily clever—the work of a master craftsman—done with a diabolical cunning calculated to deceive any but the most keenly discerning.

One important point that has escaped attention in all discussion of these Protocols, is the fact that any product of the Jewish mind, or that of a member of any race of Oriental origin, invariably is marked by a distinctive quality. This work reveals not the slightest trace of Jewish psychology. All indication of Hebraic mental processes is lacking. There is an entire absence of the Jewish *aura,* as it were. The atmosphere throughout is wholly Occidental.

All my life I have been a close student of psychology, and I believe I have acquired a capacity for accurate psychological classification. Careful analysis of the Protocols convinces me of the racial identity of the author. Certainly they bear nothing resembling Russian characteristics. It has been suggested that the Roman Catholic church is responsible for these forgeries. There is excellent reason for doubt-

ing this, although there is convincing evidence that they were fabricated by a Catholic, who also is a German—a Jesuit, in fact. This is neither a reflection upon Germans nor an accusation against Catholics. There is no reason for supposing that Germany or Rome is exclusively concerned in the conspiracy. The author's racial connections and religious affiliations are, I should say, accidental to the case. But both the character and the structure of the work betray unmistakably the Teutonic mental mode and an intimate knowledge of the master-methods of intrigue that only an initiate of the Jesuit order, subtly trained in such craft, possibly could possess. Unquestionably the sinister interests that framed this fraud and are promoting it with unlimited finances and far-reaching power are greater than Germany or the Vatican, although each may have part in the complot. The cabal as a whole is international, non-sectarian, and co-racial.

In drawing the specifications of the super-government to which it is charged the Jews aspire, the author of the Protocols has not dealt with an imaginary institution; it only is falsely accredited. Already there is a super-government of sinister interests, but it is of Gentile construction and control. These Protocols outline truly the program and policies of this super-government. They describe with accurate detail the pseudo-democracy that actually is despotism, the restriction of popular rights and curtailment of personal liberties, the plundering of public resources, the economic enslavement of the masses, the perversion of the social psychology and confusion of the public consciousness, and all the other iniquities we can see in operation all about us. Of the effects thus readily recognized, the concealed causes are imputed to the Jews by those really responsible therefor. Thus, because Jewish ideals interfere with the system and the onward march of the Jewish mission threatens its permanency, the masses in their misery are instigated to revolt against the ones who would relieve them, thereby leaving the real masters secure in their sway.

All these things are antithetical to the Jewish atti-

tude, opposed to the Jewish purpose, contradictive of Jewish principles. A study of Jewish history and Judaic precepts makes apparent the absurdity of charging the Jews with autocratic aims. The Jewish politico-social ideal comprehends justice, peace, and brotherhood. Autocracy means war, inequity, and all other evils to which that ideal stands opposed.

Not only are the actual character and processes of the existing "invisible government" described in the Protocols with exact particularity, but the observable effects of its operation are truly depicted. It is self-portraiture of photographic fidelity. Also, it has been placed on public exhibition at the precise psychological hour, when the world is writhing in the grasp of that pictured power. In one respect, however, the craft of the conspirators has proved fatally at fault. Complete invisibility no longer is possible, and apparency grows with each extension of control. The mask has slipped from the features, and the mantle has been stripped from the figure on the throne. And this uncovering reveals not Jewish physiognomy.

The tactics employed in the Protocols are not unusual, although they never before have been applied on such a colossal scale or for such a gigantic purpose. It simply is a case of the criminals conspiring to fix the crime on innocent parties, with the customary devices of subsidiary crime, such as forgery, perjury, etc.

Not for a moment, however, do I believe Ford to be a member of the "inner circle" of this cabal, to which only keen intelligence can penetrate. He is but the stupid tool of skillful hands. They have allowed him to prosper because in a foolish prosperity he is useful to wiser men. When he has sufficiently served their purposes they will strip him of his vain financial trappings and cast him, an impotent piece of human rubbish, upon the dump-heap of destiny.

Were there any doubt that these articles are inspired by reactionary interests bent upon preserving present autocracies and restoring those that have been destroyed, and that in his anti-Jewish crusade Henry Ford is only an unwitting marionette manipulated by

more intelligent minds, it would be dissipated by a reading of the remarkable eulogies, in the second volume, of old Russia and present-day Poland. In contradiction of all authenticated facts of history, with its pogroms and proscriptions, the czaristic régime is described as kindly and tolerant in general and highly humane toward the Jews in particular, to whom it showed much favor and granted many special privileges, receiving only basest ingratitude in return. All the evil reports against the Romanoff reign are denounced as prevaricative propaganda. Former President Taft and the United States Congress are reviled for abrogating our treaty with Russia because of atrocities inflicted on the Jews. Poland is pictured as a land of loftiest patriots made victim of Jewish viciousness. No explanation is offered, however, of the present unprecedented hegira of Jews from the land they are said to hold at their mercy.

Many Jews are prone to the error of supposing the present anti-Semitic monstrosity is a plant of ephemeral growth and limited locale. Instead, if I may be pardoned so trite a simile, it is a deadly upas-tree, firmly rooted and spreading over the continent, touching with the bitter blight of its mephitic exhalations the entire Jewish life.

It should be remembered that anti-Semitism is of ancient genesis. It has existed with varying degrees of virulence since first the Jews came into contact with other peoples.

I disagree with those dignified persons who hold that the best way to answer anti-Semitic charges is to cover them with the contempt of silence. As Rabbi Max Heller so pertinently points out, a "dignified ignoring" of wildly improbable stories about the Jews in the past did not serve to discredit the slanders.

Yet, while I believe the Fordian frenzy should be actively combated, I believe also that Dr. Jonah B. Wise gives the best antidote for anti-Semitism when he says that Jews should make themselves in character and conduct a living refutation of its charges.

PSYCHIC ELEMENTS OF RACIAL DISCORD

IN all race separation, the economic wall is reinforced by psychic barriers.

Thus, we have an instinctive repellence that may be described as race aversion. This antipathy, as has been shown in a previous chapter, primarily is nature's precaution against the biological error of cross-breeding by foundation races.

To understand his own social situation, the Jew must know that the obstacle between himself and the Aryan race is different from that which segregates the basic races. For comprehension of his own problem, however, he should study the problems of other races, dissimilar though they be, not despising even that of the most inferior.

Race aversion not always is marked by antagonism. The antagonism comes only with conflict of economic interest. This aversion, unlike antagonism, has no relation to economics, but is purely a biologic instinct. Nor is it inspired by inferiority of the object. Negroes ostracize the white who is wed to a Negro. It may be argued that this attitude is due to the inferiority of the Caucasian who will contract a miscegenatious marriage. This is disproved by the fact that Negroes inferior even to such decadent whites retain social caste among their race.

On this point a writer in the *North American Review* says: "Individuals sometimes show a desperate desire for miscegenation, but they indulge it always at the expense of a loss of the respect of both races."

This distinction between race aversion and race antagonism is important, and is not so narrow as at first may appear. The former is purely psychic, arising out of that profound instinct which stands guard over

the purity of races, and it finds only passive expression; while the latter, actively manifested, results entirely from the impulse of economic conservation. Engendered as they are by totally different influences, the fact that these sentiments often are associated is coincidental. Their apparent relation readily is accounted for: When antagonism develops from a disturbance of the economic status, those by whom it is displayed cast about for a justifying cause, and it is natural they should mistakenly suppose themselves to be actuated by a conscious aversion, the real reason for their attitude being ethically insufficient.

That aversion and antagonism are distinct and unrelated impulses, springing from entirely different causes, easily is demonstrated. There is no aversion of the Jew; eliminate antagonism, and he becomes acceptable for association. In case of races against which aversion exists along with antagonism, if the antagonism is removed they remain undesirable for social contact. Eligibility to intermarriage is the infallible test in this matter.

Convincing proof of the integrity of this proposition is found in the status of the patrician English Jew, who, accorded all the economic privileges of his caste, is the peer of the proudest of British nobility.

There are psychic factors in racial discord, however, that have no biological dependence and which are not confined to races that are basically different. Between peoples of antipodal origin there exists an inharmony due to difference in habits of thought.

Intellectually, Occident and Orient are eternally opposed. For example, the simple and direct western mentality can not fathom the nearly infinite subtleties of the Nipponese mind nor follow its intricate involvements. These complex processes are as far removed from our understanding as is the eastern horizon from the setting sun.

As Kipling so excellently has put it—

"Oh, East is East, and West is West, and never the twain shall meet."

Also, and by way of contrast, the primitive simplicity of the Negro confounds us. Our powers of analysis are baffled by his lack of logic; his unphilosophic philosophy strikes strangely upon our rationality; his irresponsibility is incomprehensible to our practical minds, and we are shocked by his embryonic ethical sense. His crude and fantastic mysticism, which makes him the most superstitious of creatures, appears barbaric beside the more respectable superstitions of the white man. As to the ethical phase of his nature, it may be said that the Negro is not immoral; he merely is unmoral. Immorality can exist only with consciousness of what constitutes morality. In the Negro the ethical understanding remains undeveloped. This is demonstrated by many deficiencies that are racially characteristic, including his imperfect grasp of the basic laws of mine and thine.

Although the Negro represents a different extreme of intellectual incompatibility, the Caucasian no more can find in him a point of mental contact than in the convoluted cunning of the Japanese. Both are beings of a racial heritage wholly alien to ours.

The difference between Ethiopian and Caucasian psychology is demonstrated, even if it is not fully elucidated, by the reply of an aged darky to a white man who questioned him as to why Negroes never commit suicide:

"Well, boss, Ah tells yuh—hits dis way: When white folks gits tuh thinkin' 'bout their troubles they goes off an' kills theirse'ves. But when a cullud pusson sets down an' 'gins tuh worry, he jes' nachully goes tuh sleep."

Reverting to the superior races, it is pertinent to remark that, the Jew being an Oriental, his mental processes are unlike those of the Occidental. The orthodox Jew, indeed, may be said to dwell in a world of thought diametrically opposed to that of the Gentile. He exists in a mental ghetto. Even as the written characters of the Hebrew language read backward, so do the Jews think reversely, in directions totally foreign to Aryan habits. This does not mean that the

Jew is intellectually inferior, but merely that his mode of thought is different.

The mental contrarities of Jew and Aryan, unlike those of basically different bloods, are not irreconcilable. They are not ethnically fundamental, but are the outgrowth of differing environments that produce also varying ideals, traditions, customs, etc. It does not follow, however, that to achieve agreement the Jew should make more than an equal share of concessions to conformity. For a common focalization of views, both sides need to alter the angle of vision in some directions. The Aryan can with profit borrow from the Jew many things other than money. By looking through Jewish glasses the Gentile will see many new truths and behold many strange beauties. Let each adopt for his own whatever verities that to the other may belong.

In the matter of race prejudice and persecution based upon color, let us first examine the case of the Japanese in the United States. It is to be observed that objection to the Japanese is confined to communities where they constitute an inharmonious industrial factor. In the eastern states, where the Japanese are so few and of such character that they do not affect the economic situation, no prejudice exists and persecution is unknown.

On the other hand, on the Pacific coast, where Japanese are present in number sufficient to disturb the economic equilibrium, prejudice is intense and persecution is systematically practiced. The disabilities imposed upon the Japanese in California are almost identical with those from which the Jews suffered in certain European countries in the recent past. They are denied full educational advantages, and are deprived of all civic privileges, even to the ownership of land. The nature of these restrictions plainly indicates that economic considerations alone are the controlling influence. Political pressure is being applied to cause Congress to bar Japanese immigrants, irrespective of caste—regardless of the degree of literacy, economic condition, or character qualifications—this

sweeping exclusion being equivalent to Jewish expulsion in other lands. As the Japanese, like the Jews, have large commercial capacity and are formidable competitors in trade, business interests have combined with the labor element in opposing their operations.

Public discrimination against the Japanese is not limited to legislative enactment. In California the Y. M. C. A. refuses them full membership and the privileges of the organization that would bring them in contact with white members, they being permitted only to attend the English classes and religious meetings—barring them entirely from vocational training. In some cities they are excluded altogether. Fraternal organizations and trade unions are not open to them, and as far as possible they are kept out of the skilled crafts.

A writer in the *Sunset Magazine* frankly places antagonism to the Japanese on economic grounds, and says:

"California's opposition is not because of race hatred—there is no racial problem involved in the determination to eliminate the Japanese from economic consideration. Candidly, California acknowledges that Japanese given free rein within her borders would become *commercial competitors* against whom the white man could not hope to struggle successfully. . . . Tokyo may assert that her national pride has been pricked, but nevertheless she knows that the real cause of the tempest is that her subjects figuratively have been picking California's pockets of profits and rapidly are attaining complete mastery of the communities in which they have settled."

Putting aside for a moment the economic phase of the Japanese problem and considering it in purely a social sense, the question is not one of inferiority, but of dissimilarity; it is not a matter of inequality, but of unassimilability. That is, of course, racially speaking; for the white and the yellow races are hopelessly incommiscible by biological process. To the Caucasian, however, there is a distinct and vital difference between race equality and social equality. The

Japanese interpretation opposes this distinction. Therein lies the tangle. The Japanese demand concession of racial equality because of their theory that it carries with it recognition of social equality. They desire recognition of social equality because objection to such recognition serves as an excuse for denial of economic equality. But no colored race, whatever its intellectual attainments, can hope for a preferred position in Caucasian society. Any effort to compel recognition of social equality can only result disastrously; for social equality predicates intermarriage, against which the Caucasian's conservative racial instinct instantly revolts. This instinct against blood-mixture is as deep as life itself and will be defended without ruth.

The objection of inferiority can not consistently be urged as a reason for Japanese exclusion. There can be no denial of the high degree of Japanese culture, albeit the Nipponese civilization is different from ours. In some respects it is superior. The Japanese are the most artistic people in the world; their esthetic principles are the truest known. Therefore, the intensified prejudice against the Japanese, and the accusation of inferiority predicated on color, can result from nothing else than race rivalry arising from economic causes.

Concerning the cultural status of the Japanese, E. Buckley, in an article, "The Japanese as Peers of Western People," appearing in the *American Journal of Sociology* for November, 1905, says:

"While the Japanese stand on the same general plane of culture as the peoples of Europe and North America, they are distinct rivals with them for preeminence on that plane, by reason of the number of points wherein they are demonstrably supreme."

Anti-Japanese agitation in California in many of its features parallels the anti-Jewish crusade in the United States. In each case the admitted cause of antagonism is superiority, not inferiority, of the object. Both movements are based on economic rivalry. Like the Jews, the Japanese are clannish and co-operative, and have financial keenness; and these traits are re-

sented. As has been said, the Y. M. C. A. limits its privileges to the Japanese, else excludes them entirely; it also restricts Jewish membership to 7 per cent of the total. Jews are denied admittance to Gentile clubs; in Los Angeles the Japanese are by city ordinance excluded from municipal golf courses and tennis courts. Jewish pupils in the public schools outstrip their non-Jewish class-mates; it is reported in the press that "Japanese children who attend school in San Francisco generally have better school records than the Americans." Japanese immigration is rigidly regulated; our new restrictive immigration law is aimed directly at the Jews. The percentage of Jewish criminals and paupers is small, and there virtually are no Jewish vagrants or loafers. A recent federal report on race conditions in Hawaii, where the Japanese population is four times as great as the Caucasian, says: "There are few Japanese children in the juvenile courts and in institutions for delinquents; there are proportionately very few Japanese among the convict labor gangs and in the jails; few, if any, are supported by public charity, nor are any begging in the streets. . . . There are few triflers or idlers among them. . . . They are ambitious to set up business, to enter a profession, to rise above the category of unskilled labor."

In a letter to the State Department at Washington, protesting against the Japanese menace, Governor Stephens of California dwells at length on the many admirable qualities of the Japanese, their cultural attainments, and their progressive tendencies, but adds that they "are proving crushing competitors to our white rural populations."

V. S. McClatchy, publisher of the Sacramento *Bee* and one of the leaders in the anti-Japanese movement, in a magazine article and in various articles in his own paper setting forth objections to the Japanese, says: "He is an undesirable immigrant for economic rather than for racial reasons, and the strongest of these reasons are creditable rather than discreditable to him. . . . He is thrifty, industrious, and ambi-

tious. . . . There is no question of inferiority involved. . . . They do not assimilate. They remain always Japanese. They maintain their racial purity more jealously than any other race that comes to our shores. They preserve their ideals, their customs, etc. . . . Remember, again, that there is involved in the subject no question as to racial equality, no reflection upon the Japanese. In fact, our stand upon this matter includes a frank admission that the Japanese are so much our superiors in certain admirable qualities that they would drive the white race to the wall in open economic competition. . . . Their co-operation and thrift give them advantages in economic competition against which it is hopeless for whites to contend."

How like to these objections are those urged against the Jews!

In another day, when the Chinese imperiled the economic interests of Caucasian workers in the West, they were persecuted even more bitterly than are the Japanese today. Now that restrictive legislation, enacted at the behest of powerful labor organizations, has so reduced their number that their competition is limited chiefly to the laundry industry, their presence is welcomed by the majority as an economic relief.

Then take the position of the Negro, against whom, because of a wider biologic gulf, race aversion is more positively manifested. In all communities where he has not been so unfortunate as to disturb the economic status of the white population, he is the object of a kindly tolerance. Antagonism appears only when he becomes inimical to the material interests of the Caucasian. Thus, when he is imported in large numbers to take the places of white workers, we have the bloody record of the East St. Louis race riots. It should be marked that these deadly demonstrations took place in a community where previously, as an inconsequential industrial factor, the Negro had dwelt in peace and security and a degree of fraternity. On the other hand, in the South, so long as the Negro submissively served the economic interests of the minority whites,

he not only was unmolested, but was accorded a sort of feudal protection. When, however, the peculiar industrial conditions that prevailed during the World War brought to him an unwonted prosperity and he refused to harvest the cotton crop, he was maltreated by mobs of planters in need of his reluctant labor. Paradoxically, in the North he was killed because he wished to work, in the South he was assaulted because he was unwilling to work; the economic interests of others being in both cases the cause of conflict, with race repugnance serving as pretext.

All race riots, whether Jewish pogroms, anti-Japanese demonstrations, clashes with Negroes, or conflict with other peoples, primarily are the result of economic competition.

It is interesting to note how, in a theoretical democracy, denial of citizenship is employed as an economic weapon. Japanese and Chinese are denied American citizenship. The Negro, a citizen by nativity, is disfranchised in the South in defiance of constitutional guarantees. This is because political subjection is a condition to economic subjection.

Prof. Robert E. Park of the Department of Sociology, University of Chicago, appears to have a clear comprehension of the causes of race antagonism and an understanding of the means necessary to their removal. In his introduction to "The Japanese Invasion," by Frederick Steiner, Ph. D., Professor Park says:

"It has been assumed that the prejudice which blinds the people of one race to the virtues of another, and leads them to exaggerate that other's faults, is in the nature of a misunderstanding which further knowledge will dispel. This is so far from true that it would be more exact to say that our racial misunderstandings are merely the expression of our racial antipathies. Behind these antipathies are deep-seated, vital, and instinctive impulses. These antipathies represent collision of invisible forces; the clash of interests, dimly felt but not yet clearly perceived. They are present in every situation where the fundamental

interests of races and peoples are not regulated by some law, custom, or any other *modus vivendi* which commands the assent and mutual support of both parties. We hate people because we fear them; because our interests—as we understand them, at any rate—run counter to theirs. On the other hand, goodwill is founded in the long run upon co-operation. The extension of our so-called altruistic sentiments is made possible only by the organization of our otherwise conflicting interests and by the extension of the machinery of co-operation and social control.

"Race prejudice may be regarded as a spontaneous, more or less instinctive defense-reaction, the practical effect of which is to restrict free competition between races. Its importance as a social function is due to the fact that free competition, particularly between peoples of different standards of living, seems to be, if not the original source, at least the stimulus to which race prejudice is the response.

"From this point of view we regard caste, or even slavery, as one of those accommodations through which the race problem found a natural solution. Caste, by relegating the subject race to an inferior status, gives to each race at any rate a monopoly of its own tasks. When this status is accepted by the subject people, as is the case where the caste or slavery systems become fully established, racial competition ceases and racial animosity tends to disappear. That is the explanation of the intimate and friendly relations which so often existed in slavery between master and servant. It is for this reason that we hear it said today that 'the Negro is all right in his place.' In his place he is a convenience and not a competitor. Each race being in its place, no obstacle to racial co-operation exists."

At another place in this introduction Professor Park says:

"Race prejudice is a mechanism of the group mind which acts reflexly and automatically in response to the proper stimulus. That stimulus seems to be, in the cases where I have met it, unrestricted compe-

tition of peoples with different standards of living. Racial animosities and the so-called racial misunderstandings that grow out of them can not be explained or argued away. They can be affected only when there has been a readjustment of relations and an organization of interests in such a way as to bring a larger measure of co-operation and a less amount of friction and conflict.''

The reason for thus dealing with the problems of diverse and inferior races in connection with the Jewish problem is to demonstrate by a broad exhibit that all phenomena of race antagonism, however dissimilar in character detail, really are cognate, having a common origin in economic conflict. It is in the inferior, as being fewer removes from the primordial, that fundamentals are more fully revealed; and in the different are causes most easily detected.

Examination of the evidence compels the conclusion that race antagonism does not depend upon considerations of color, culture, caste, ethics, or standards of living. The case of the Jews disproves most decisively any such contention. Although the most grievously, persistently, and universally persecuted of all races, they are of Caucasian breed; every civilization has borrowed a share of their culture; theirs is the most ancient and proudest of pedigrees; their system of ethics is the noblest the world has known; their standard of living is unexcelled. Only one factor do we find common to all cases of race antagonism—the economic feature. This, then, because of the invariability of its presence, must be recognized as the fundamental consideration and all allied influences be regarded as incidental.

From the foregoing facts we inevitably come to the following conclusions:

That the influences which engender racial discord so nearly merge into a single identity that they properly may be considered in combination and denominated the psycho-economic factor.

All social antagonisms, whether or not they have a racial aspect, can be reduced to an economic basis.

PSYCHIC ELEMENTS OF RACIAL DISCORD

Racial prejudice arises only when different races come into direct economic conflict. Inferior races uniformly are well esteemed where they are aids instead of competitors of the superior race.

All things having their unit of measurement, the extent of racial persecution expresses the degree of economic friction.

Mental differences between Oriental and Occidental races prevent the mutual understanding necessary to that identity of interests upon which depends economic co-operation.

These psychic differences between races of different basic blood are fundamental and ineradicable. Such differences between different branches of the Caucasian race, as Semite and Aryan, are superficial and are susceptible of adjustment.

The requisites for harmonizing all Caucasian humanity into a cohesive brotherhood are: Economic equity through co-operative effort; kinship of thought through mental cross-fertilization; mutual understanding through close association.

The complete remedy is comprehended in a correct interpretation of Israel's social ideal.

"THE MESSIAH COMETH"

THE Jews were justified in not accepting Jesus as the Messiah. His coming was not in accordance with the fulfillment of prophecy. He brought no true sign of his authenticity. His methods were not Messianic. He said, "Think not that I am come to send peace on earth: I came not to send peace, but a sword." And the rivers of blood that since have been spilled in his name amply have verified his assertion. Not that Jesus designed or desired violence; but doubtless he previsioned the sanguinary results of resistance to his teachings and perversion of them by demagogues of the spiritual domain.

In fact, no authority has been established for the Christian belief that Jesus himself ever claimed to be the Messiah. There is no authentic evidence, even, that he had a thought of founding a religious system. He was an unlettered social philosopher with sure intuitions, teaching the economic basis of human brotherhood.

Jesus was thoroughly a Jew, fully imbued with the Jewish spirit. He was a propagandist of protest, proclaiming against the growing materialism of society, attacking the wrongs and oppressions inflicted upon the masses, combating the arrogant powers of misrule. He was the inspired proletaire of his time.

So far from dispensing a new religion, always the things Jesus denounced were departures from the true path of traditional Judaism; always he pleaded for a return to the old righteousness.

Time has vindicated the rejection of Jesus by the Jews as the true Messiah, for the centuries since his advent have revealed no hint of the required Messianic condition. Instead, the red waves of war have continued to roll over the world and holocausts of hate

repeatedly have been visited upon the tribes of men. The claims made for the noble Nazarene by his disciples have been conclusively disproved. The Messianic Era will proclaim itself with infallibility.

Jesus taught Judaism. His idealistic doctrines were founded upon the best in Israel's ancient faith. He simply was a splendid example of the early Jewish reformer, whose social theories were regarded as dangerous by the reactionaries of his day. He was crucified by the Roman authorities as a matter of political expediency, in an effort to suppress his propaganda, according to the primitive methods of that period, just as radical agitators now are put into prison for the same purpose.

And what is the essence and substance of this Messianic idea that from time immemorial has animated the noblest minds of Israel? Is it the selfish hope of narrow race interest, the glorification of Judea alone? No, the ideal for which the Jews have been reviled and have suffered incredible persecution has for its benign purpose the redemption of the entire human race and the blessing of all the nations of earth. With a perversity that is strange without being rare, they have been rewarded with every brutality by the peoples they seek to benefit.

The Messianic idea, truly conceived, is purely symbolic—a personified condition. It is the ideal age, a just social order, the supremacy of happiness, a fullness of fellowship, a universal humanhood.

Not the Jew alone, but all mankind, is rightful claimant to Israel's historic heritage.

The hope of a stricken and disorganized and bewildered world today is the Jew. This, not because he is the world's dominant economic force, nor yet by reason of his genius for organization and his superior administrative ability, but because of the nature and integrity of his ideals. No system of organization, no political scheme, can compass our social salvation. The scheme, the organization, is merely the mechanism. The motive power resides in the spirit of man himself, and by its character renders the mechanism ineffective

or injurious in operation, else produces constructive results and beneficent effects. The Jew's immutable ideals make him the Messiah of all mankind. The solidity of his social virtues is the rock upon which will be reared the new world superstructure.

"The soul of the Jewish race," says Israel Zangwill, "is saturated with the aspiration for a righteous social order and an ultimate unification of mankind of which, in all specifically Jewish literature, the Jewish race is to be the medium and missionary."

If their prophets have spoken truly, and if the logic of history is not misleading, in this day of desolation when the human race stands despairingly above the ruins of a war-wrecked world, it is the Jew, the once rejected workman, that must reshape a shattered social structure and rebuild it along fairer lines.

The Jew is qualified above others for this task because of his broad tolerance and his shining human sympathy; because of his generous charity and thoughtful consideration; because through his own past suffering he has learned to give of himself to the community, while investing such service with dignity and finding delight therein; because of his ability to love his fellowmen, and his constructive willingness to build up and create for others as well as for himself. His exact sense of equity prompts in him a desire to give in service as well as to get in gain.

"What I wish for myself I wish for thee, O Universe of Mankind!" is the incessant cry of Israel's anointed.

Seldom has any people achieved or striven for self-emancipation. Nearly always is the boon of freedom bestowed in opposition and accepted with protest. Men resist liberation, and society crucifies its saviors. Dungeon and gallows ever have been the reward of the torch-bearers of Truth. It is the way of the world to exalt its butchers and execute its benefactors. The Greeks pressed the hemlock cup to the lips of Socrates; the masses demanded the death of Jesus; Joan of Arc was fed to the flames in 1431 and canonized

in 1920; Virginia Negroes clamored for the privilege of lynching John Brown after his capture at Harper's Ferry. So, it is not surprising that just now, on the eve of the world's emancipation at the hands of the Jew, there should be a mighty revival of anti-Semitism in all lands, including America. It is widely charged that the Jews conspire to conquer all other peoples, gain complete control of earth's economic resources, and establish a super-government of their own race. The psycho-historical significance of this propaganda of prejudice, of itself goes far to convince me of the imminence of the Jewish ideal. Every great social change is preceded and accompanied by similar phenomena.

There is no danger that the Jews will rule the world, but there is hope that Judaism will. That rule will be one of righteousness, of justice, and of love.

Spiritual conquest is the only victory to which Israel aspires. Even were the Jews disposed toward a selfish destiny reserved to themselves, there are practical reasons why they should put aside the dream.

Philosophically, the Jew is a hedonist. He desires for himself the best obtainable. By making the world better for himself he makes it better for all mankind; and he is intelligent enough to know that only by making it better for all mankind can he make it better for himself, since all must live under the same general conditions. This is the best assurance of universal benefit from his efforts.

On the Jew depends the salvation of society; in him rests the hope of humanity's regeneration.

He will spread a bountiful feast of brotherhood in which all men shall share.

Whoever interprets correctly the ideals of Israel must know that the Jews are indeed the Chosen People—chosen, not for special benefits, but for a special mission.

That this mission is to all the children of men is proved by the testimony of Israel's early prophets, who, with sighs in their hearts and tears in their

straining eyes, strove to prevision the social program of unbegotten years. Whether or not these spiritual patriarchs were gifted with vaticinative vision, certain it is that they interpreted with true understanding the constructive aims of ancient Israel, that have known no modern mutations. These aims are altruistic, pacific, and universal. They are well expressed in the rabbinic version of Isaiah:

"Behold, my servant, whom I uphold; my chosen, in whom my soul delighteth: I have put my spirit upon him; he shall bring forth true religion to the nations. He shall not clamor nor cry nor cause his voice to be heard in the street. A bruised reed shall he not break, and a dimly burning wick shall he not quench; he shall bring forth true religion faithfully. He shall not burn dimly, nor shall his spirit be crushed, till he have set true religion in the earth; and the isles shall wait for his teaching."

Again is it spoken: "It is too light a thing that thou shouldst be my servant to raise up the tribes of Jacob, and to restore the preserved of Israel: I will also give thee for a light to the nations, that my salvation may be unto the ends of the earth."

In the King James translation of Isaiah is found the following:

"I, the Lord, have called thee in righteousness, and will hold thine hand, and will keep thee, and give thee for a covenant of the people, for a light of the Gentiles; to open the blind eyes, to bring out the prisoners from the prison, and them that sit in darkness out of the prison house. . . . And I will bring the blind by a way that they know not; I will lead them in paths that they have not known: I will make darkness light before them, and crooked things straight. . . . He will magnify the law and make it honourable." (Chap. 42.)

Also is it spoken by this same prophet:

"In that day shall Israel be . . . a blessing in the midst of the land." (xix:24.)

"Israel shall blossom and bud, and fill the face of the world with fruit." (xxvii:6.)

"They helped every one his neighbour; and every one said to his brother, Be of good courage." (xli: 6.)

"All the Gentiles shall come to thy light, and the kings to the brightness of thy rising." (lx:3.)

Of the promise of a New Order, Isaiah has said:

"Remember ye not the former things, neither consider the things of old." (xliii:18.)

"For, behold, I create new heavens and a new earth: and the former shall not be remembered, nor come into mind." (lxv:17.)

"They shall not build, and another inhabit; they shall not plant, and another eat. . . . They shall not labor in vain, nor bring forth for trouble." (lxv: 22, 23.)

Regarding the irenic purpose of Israel we are given this:

"And He shall judge among the nations, and shall rebuke many people: and they shall beat their swords into plowshares, and their spears into pruning-hooks: nation shall not lift up sword against nation, neither shall they learn war any more." (ii:4.)

"Violence shall no more be heard in thy land, wasting nor destruction within thy borders." (lx:18.)

That Israel's blessings are not for the Jew alone, but that they will be universally bestowed, we are assured by other prophets:

"And it shall come to pass, that ye shall divide it by lot for an inheritance unto you, and to the strangers that sojourn among you, which shall beget children among you: and they shall be unto you as born in the country among the children of Israel; they shall have inheritance with you among the tribes of Israel. And it shall come to pass, that in what tribe the stranger sojourneth, there shall ye give him his inheritance, saith the Lord God." (Ezekiel, xlvii:22, 23.)

"The nations . . . shall take hold of the skirt of him that is a Jew, saying, We will go with you." (Zechariah, viii:23.)

"And all nations shall call you blessed." (Malachi, iii:12.)

"Thou shalt rejoice," says the author of Deuteronomy, "in every good thing which the Lord thy God hath given unto thee . . . thou, and the Levite, and the stranger that is among you."

Even in the New Testament we find the same spirit, for Paul, stern founder of the Christian faith, says, "Rejoice, ye Gentiles, with his people." (Romans, xv:10.)

A profound contemplation of the subject has forced upon me the conviction that the Messianic idea symbolizes the mission of Israel and that its personification comprehends the entire Jewish people; that this mission is the redemption of the world, and that the hour of fulfillment is at hand.

The Messianic idea emphasizes a universal principle, the element of spiritual sovereignty. The Messianic Era is the highest expression of Jewish life, the loftiest realization of Jewish hope; an ideal state for all mankind.

The Jews are the one people that these portentous days demand. Theirs is the one race that has retained its ideals. The time has come to translate those ideals into action. Responsive to the world's necessity, Israel hastens to the execution of its historic mission.

This call to action and long-delayed triumph will thrill the ranks of the Chosen Children like the sound of a war-blown trumpet, like the flash of a lifted sword!

Whether one holds faith in the fulfillment of Judaic prophecy, or simply reckons results that come from the inexorable operation of culminant social forces, whoever studies with perspicacity the present world situation scarcely can escape the conviction that we are about to enter upon the Messianic Era, or whatever designative equivalent we may choose for the Great Change and New Order that must come to Civilization if it is to survive. All the promised portents are visible or audible; every predicted condition precedent to the transition is present.

"Believers in the Millennium," it is pointed out

by Dr. Gotthard Deutsch, "will find fulfilled the prediction of the Messianic Age, given in the Talmud (Sotah, 49 b), which reads: 'In the wake of the Messiah, presumption will grow strong, the cost of living will mount high while produce will be abundant, nobody will dare speak an unpleasant truth, immorality will abound, scientific studies will fall into disrepute, advocates of virtue will be despised, truth will be hidden, youth will arise against old age, and there will be nothing to rely on except that we trust in our Father in heaven.' "

None who is truthful will deny that all these misfortunes have befallen, that all these calamitous conditions exist. It well may be that the Messianic Era will result from an inevitable reaction against an intolerable social order, mankind seeking relief from its miseries in an acceptance of the Jewish ideal.

The "war to end war" has been followed by a peace that ends peace. Humanity has been betrayed to the bitterest ultimate of perfidious possibility. No promise of its rulers has been redeemed. Earth's empires, drunken with the wine of death, are reeling to their ruin. Nightmare overlies the nations as a starless darkness descends. Madness has seized upon all mundane things. The dove of peace has been made into a potpie, while the world's delirious masters dance a devil's rigadoon at the graveside of civilization.

The world's morale is broken because by reason of the stark revealments of the war it lost its illusions and has not acquired its ideals. Society must be recast in a nobler mold. In this remodeling of the world the soul of the world must be remodeled.

Just what has the world to hope from the Jews, and why?

The Jews can do for a chaotic society what others can not, because they are the only people with uniform ideals. They are the only people who have reduced their ideals to a system. They are the only people whose paramount purpose is to realize their ideals. Hence, they are capable of constructive thought and

concerted action. In the homogeny of Israel abides the hope of the world.

We may expect from the Jew what he never has received—justice.

An inflexible principle of the Jewish ideal, handed down from earliest history, is that the greatness of a nation depends upon its righteousness.

By removing the barriers of race-restriction, by breaking down the walls of narrow nationalism and opening wide the gates of broadest brotherhood, Judea's impelling ideals will give to the world a purer patriotism and a loftier living.

The Jew will civilize Christianity and Christianize Christendom as an essential preliminary to Judaizing the world.

His hand will balance the scales of social justice. He will give us unity of mankind and equality of individuals, and a reign of universal righteousness.

The Jew must do these things if he remains true to his traditions and loyal to his ideals. In no other way can he justify himself and know the fulfillment of Messianic promise.

We can trust the Jew in this—he is safe—he gives a more than golden guarantee of his good faith.

There is no danger that, having held fast to his ideals through the ages, having suffered and endured for centuries for sake of those ideals, he will in the day of triumph prove false to those same ideals. The pledge is sworn in agony and sealed with his blood. Such covenant is sacrosanct.

That Jews are fully alive to the desperate dilemma in world affairs, that they realize conditions are crowding swiftly to a crisis, is evidenced by the expressions of leaders of Jewish thought. As an example, I may quote from the Purim editorial for 1919 in the *American Israelite:*

"So may we, whether we be Jews or Christians, still cling to this faith today. The clouds that lower over the whole world, and especially over unhappy Israel in Eastern Europe, are very dark indeed. The nations of the world seem to be wandering like lost

sheep with leaders in whose capacity for wise guidance they have lost confidence, and rightly so. There seems to be no country on earth whose government commands the respect of thinking men; and even in our own beloved land, the scenes that have been enacted at the national capital during the past year are hardly such in which the American people can take pride."

We know that the world is direly distraught and its leaders are at a loss for a means of relief. They have displayed a genius for disorganization and an imbecility in reorganization. They have taken the world apart and don't know how to put it together again. The insufficient statesmen of every country—these blunderers and bunglers who have made such a mess of things, and still have the amazing effrontery to pose as leaders while acting as masters—are running in circles and getting nowhere, not even being able to stop when they return to their starting points. Whenever for a moment they do cease their futile circuition they stand helpless and hopeless before the ruin they have wrought. The policies of all nations are in chaos, and there are no international policies. War did not bring peace, but more war; in all lands where there is not armed conflict there is a ceaseless war of social forces.

We know that we need new leaders and a new consciousness. On this point the editor of the *Saturday Evening Post* says: "The world needs new leaders, men who will plan as patiently and directly for peace as its old ones planned patiently and indirectly for war. . . . Only by peace can the world be saved morally and economically. The first step toward it is a stoppage of the propaganda that engenders hate and leads to talk of war. . . . The world needs a new psychology, and even more a new morality—a morality that will brand the man who foments hate between nations, whether he be king, statesman, journalist or demagogue, as a dangerous criminal."

We know that the world is tired of war. That it is weary of injustice and enmities and cruelties. That it is disgusted with hypocrisy and mendacity, with

selfishness and ignoble aims, with incessant grasping by the hands of greed and the heavy oppressions of misplaced power. That it is sickened of ignorance and longs for light. That it thirsts for truth and hungers for righteousness.

We know, moreover, that the old methods will not suffice. That the old order can not be restored and that previous ideals never again can prevail. That the old social fabric of obsolete pattern is wrecked beyond repair, and that the new structure must be builded of new materials, according to a better design, and upon a firmer foundation.

To all who are not blind it is a visible verity that, in this day of earth's desperate extremity, of all the world's peoples only the Jews have aught to offer that is worthy and sufficient. The wise will welcome this anciently ordained salvation, and for others the acceptance thereof is not a matter of choice, but of necessity. No other hope of succor is extended, no other deliverance is at hand.

It was foretold by the prophets that the Messiah would appear at a crowning crisis in the world's affairs.

That crisis has come—and "the Messiah cometh."

JEWISH CULTURE AND ACHIEVEMENT

IN THESE disquisitions it is advisedly my purpose to avoid the biographical. Too many books purporting to deal with Jewish questions deal mostly with persons, until page after page resembles a directory of names in an effort to impress the reader with the record of personal achievement. It is not what the Jews have done as individuals that counts in general consequences; it is what the race as a whole has wrought in releasing civilization from the cocoon of barbarism and helping humanity in its endless ascent. Besides, these things have been comprehensively summed up by Dr. Mendel Silber in an admirable single volume, "Jewish Achievement," which is a sufficient register without such infinite iteration by other writers.

With so great an aggregate of racial achievement, it is puerile for Jews to particularize individuals for special distinction. Such selection is invidious, and to the uninformed would indicate a paucity of collective accomplishment. Such an attitude is as superarogatory as it would be for a woman to boast of her chastity, a gentleman of his honor, or an aristocrat of his origin. Such things should go for granted. What would Jews think of any non-Jewish people that so would seek to validate its claim to each of its nationals that might distinguish himself in some signal manner, instead of counting his performance with the general human achievement? Would it not be justifiable to suppose that a people must be lacking in honors, that they should scramble for them so greedily? Let such things be accepted modestly and as a matter of course. The possessor of great wealth has no need for excessive display of his opulence to avoid suspicion of poverty.

There being no rarity of Jewish genius, it is a mistake for Jews to identify, with their customary insistence, every member of their race who has won an exceptional renown. Anyway, in a list so numerous, individual mention loses its notability.

It should suffice my purpose to say that the splendid record of Jewish achievement runs continuously through human history, from its earliest dawn down to that super-mentality of the present, Albert Einstein, whose Theory of Relativity has revolutionized scientific thought, postulated a new law of physics, and made him the world's foremost intellectual figure.

Anyway, a Portuguese Jew, Luis de Torres, companion of Columbus, was the first European to discover the beneficent use of tobacco—and that alone is glory enough for any race!

Without exaggeration, it may be said that the Jews are the most wonderful people in the world. No other race so numerically small fills nearly so large a place in history.

The late Senator Zebulon B. Vance, in his lecture, "The Scattered Nation," said of the Jew: "There is no man who [sic] approaches him in the extent and character of the influence which he has exercised over the human family."

Arnold White, a writer of decided anti-Semitic tendencies, therefore chary of compliment in this respect, in his book, "The Modern Jew," says:

"A race that baffled the Pharaohs, foiled Nebuchadnezzar, thwarted Rome, defeated feudalism, circumvented the Romanoffs, baffled the Kaiser, and undermined the Third Republic, presents ample material for legitimate curiosity."

Ancient achievements of Jewish leaders survive in history with undiminished luster, while in many cases the very names of their kingly oppressors long have been lost to the lips of men. Those of the latter that still are remembered are kept in cognizance only because by reason of their cruelties they achieved an immortality of infamy. *And their historians are Jews.*

This strangely potent race has, since earliest re-

corded time, exercised a profound influence on the ethics of mankind and provided much of the material for the foundations of civilization. Moreover, from this race two of the world's greatest religious systems —Christianity and Mohammedanism—have sprung.

The Jews are an intellectually intensive race, therefore they produce few mediocres.

The fallacious charge, repeated with such frequency, that the Jewish mind is not creative, is easily disproved. We find the refutive evidence in the unimpeachable facts of accomplishment. What is the creative faculty but imagination? And the Jews are the most imaginative of peoples. The Jew has wrought with distinctive originality in all the arts, and the product stands like mental milestones along the track of the progressive centuries. How fatuous is such a charge when as a source of wisdom the world's thinkers still turn to the ancient Hebrew savants, and every modern writer of repute has recourse for inspiration and material to the rich field of early Hebraic literature! Poor indeed would be the province of intellectual achievement without the original contributions of Jewish genius.

This absurd charge of Jewish jejunity doubtless is based upon Richard Wagner's irresponsible assertions in his malevolent attempt to prove that all Jewish music is banal. Wagner was a strange combination of greatness and smallness—contradictive and vindictive; a giant in genius and a dwarf of character. His monumental race malice was inspired by jealousy of Jewish pre-eminence in a province of art to whose sovereignty he aspired. The circumstances convicted him of bearing false witness, for had his accusation been true there were neither need nor purpose making it.

No envenomed detraction by envious rivals c the Jew of his supremacy in the realm of music compositional or interpretative. Especially is undisputed master of that imperial instrume violin. What non-Jewish violinist of today ca pare with such virtuosos as Fritz Kreisler, M

Elman, Jascha Heifetz, Toscha Seidel, Max Rosen, Efrem Zimbalist, Joachim, and Ernt, or that sovereign teacher, Leopold Auer?—so conspicuous a case of superiority as to justify personal specification.

Most of the great masters of melody in the past were Jews. And as composers, conductors, performers, producers, the Jews still dominate the world of music. Says that illustrious Jew, Lord Beaconsfield:

"The ear, the voice, the fancy teeming with combinations, the inspiration fervid with picture and emotion, that came from Caucasus, and which we have preserved unpolluted, have endowed us with almost the exclusive privilege of music; that science of harmonious sounds which the ancients recognize as most divine and deified in the person of their most beautiful creation. . . . There is not a company of singers, not an orchestra in a single capital, that is not crowded with our children under feigned names which they adopt to conciliate the dark aversion which your posterity will some day disclaim with shame and disgust."

"The truth is," we are told by that brilliant music commentator, James Gibbons Huneker, "that among the virtuosos, singers, actors, the Jews hold first place. Liszt and Paganini are the exceptions, and Paganini easily could pass in an East Side crowd as Jehudah."

Against the integrity of such testimony as this, what availeth the petty derogations of the delirious Wagner?

In all the interpretative arts we find the Jews pre-eminent out of all proportion to their comparatively insignificant number. On the mimic stage of a departed day what other figures stand out like statues of genius as do, among women, those of Rachel and Bernhardt; among men, that of Booth? And in the

trionic firmament of the present what stars are
more scintillant than Jacob Adler and Bertha
h—or that one so lately fallen, David Kessler?
sic, as vocalists and instrumentalists, they crowd
ncert stage with their surpassing talent. In
g they have given new significations to pose

and gesture, to statuesque pause and rhythmic sway, and every sensuous movement of lithe limbs and supple torso. As producers and managers they virtually control the theatrical world. As playwrights they are the most veritable translators of dramatic values.

Perhaps the most amazing achievement of Jewish genius is in the plastic and the graphic arts, for the reason that the race has no inherited deftness in this direction, owing to religious inhibition of artistic representation. But the gift for form and color and similitude was ineradicable in the Jewish brain, where, dormant for ages, it was ready to spring to activity at an awakening word. So, although the Jews were, by the Mosaic mandate against the making of images, deprived of hereditary talent for painting and sculpture, such is their marvelous adaptability that the neoteric cunning of their brush and chisel has given to us imperishable canvases and immortal marbles.

With the commercial side of art the Jews are not less concerned than with its creative aspect, they being our most expert connoisseurs and most extensive dealers.

In the legal profession the Jew is conspicuously successful. This success perhaps is due not more to his alert and analytic mind and his ready resourcefulness than to the fact that his study of Talmudic teachings has grounded him in general jurisprudence and specially qualified him for proficiency in the practice of statutory law.

There can be no more convincing proof of the superior quality of the Jewish mentality than the preeminence of these people at chess, the most intellectual of all games; a game requiring to a high degree the powers of logic, analysis, strategy, precision, continuity, foresight, calculation and concentration. From the days of Moses Mendelssohn, nearly always the world's chess champion has been a Jew. Emanuel Lasker's remarkable victories at the tessellated board are recorded in history with all the permanence of those of military generals on the field. Now we have the extraordinary spectacle of a chess prodigy, an

eight-year-old Jewish boy, Samuel Rzeszewski, defeating nineteen of Europe's foremost experts in consecutive contests and winning against our own wizards in twenty simultaneous games.

In my own profession of daily journalism, I can personally testify from first-hand knowledge, the Jew excels. His alert mind exceptionally fits him for one of the mentally most exacting of all vocations. Than a metropolitan newspaper office there is no better place for accurately taking the measure of a man. It is not a matter of personal estimates or private opinion; the one requirement is that he "make good," and his quality is mercilessly revealed by the character of his performance. It is a severe test, subject to the inexorable law of natural selection, and which only the fittest may survive. Into this work come many Jews, and most of them remain.

It is in the art of music and the science of medicine, however, that Jews especially excel.

Music is the national expression of Jewish feeling. The Jew's exceeding subjectivity makes him supreme in this most subjective of all the arts. From the remotest antiquity of which we have record, Jews have been musicians. We read in Genesis that Jubal, son of Lamech and a seventh descendant of Adam, "was the father of such as handle the harp and organ." Music and musical intruments are mentioned in nearly every book of the Bible. Profuse reference is made to stringed, reed, wind, and percussion instruments, including harp, viol, flute, cornet, pipe, psaltery, organ, dulcimer, timbrel, sackbut, tabret, cymbals, and an unnamed "instrument of ten strings." "Jazz" is not mentioned. Musical instruments were much used in public worship and for civic celebrations. The ancient Jews must have been great vocalists, too, for we find their voices often lifted in the songs of Zion. Not the men alone were musicians, for when at the Passover the reconfluent waters whelmed the hosts of Pharaoh, Miriam, sister of Moses, "and all the women," with voice and timbrel sounded Israel's triumph over Egypt's dark sea. Hebrew royalty was

proficient in the "divine accomplishment." King David, it will be remembered, was a maker of music. Even as a pastoral youth David was noted as "a cunning player on an harp," and was selected by Saul to soothe with music that martial monarch's troubled spirit when he lost favor with the Lord. David led his people in popular concerts, and in musical parades before the Holy Ark on the occasions of its various pilgrimages. Isaiah tells us that David also was an inventor of "instruments of musick." The Jewish heaven is depicted as one grand chorus and orchestration.

Biblical reference to a musical "instrument of ten strings" reminds of the recent invention by a Russian Jew, Saul Dobovis, of a nine-stringed violin with which remarkable orchestral effects are produced.

Medicine is the only science permitted by the Talmud, which accounts for the marked racial tendency toward the practice of healing. Because of their more analytic minds, Jews make the best diagnosticians. Superiority of the Jew in medicine always has been universally recognized. More than one despotic ruler who has banished all other Jews from his realm has had sufficient concern for his health to retain a Jew as court physician, thereby demonstrating a confidence in his personal probity equaling that in his professional skill. What an admirable opportunity for revenge such a post would afford any Jewish disciple of Galen with a penchant for regicide!

One of the most remarkable things about the Jewish race, exceeding any special excellence, is its extreme versatility. Every worthy sphere of human activity the Jew has made securely his own. However crowded he may have found any department of desirable endeavor, he has made for himself a place therein. In literature, in criticism, in philology, in every branch of art and esthetics, in science and philosophy and ethics, in chemistry and discovery, in sociology, in economics, in jurisprudence, in statesmanship and diplomacy, in politics and administration, in oratory and histrionics, in finance and industry, in

the cosmopolitan fields of commerce, in mechanics and invention, in engineering and architecture, in mathematics and abstruse learning, in physics and metaphysics, in craftsmanship and construction, in journalism and polemics, in philanthropy and reform the Jew has distinguished himself to an exalted degree. As archæologists and travelers and explorers, as investigators and historians, as educators and thinkers the Jews have lent luster to the annals of human advancement.

Added to their other accomplishments, the Jews have the gift of tongues, so they are our leading linguists.

It is complained that the Jew does not work with his hands, that he lives from the labor of others. This is far from true as a racial total. It is a fact, of course, that the Jew is not manual-minded; he is a brain-man, and as such is predisposed toward intellectual pursuits. But he does his full share of the world's useful work. He is constitutionally industrious, having none of the instincts of the idler. He does not scorn the most menial tasks when they are necessary to him, and he will undertake the most arduous manual service rather than remain unemployed. The Jews, however, are not naturally "hewers of wood and drawers of water"; hence, despite their numerical weakness, it has been impossible for the most powerful peoples permanently to enslave them.

The mistaken supposition that the Jew never engages in manual occupations doubtless is due to his absence in modern times from agriculture and other rural industries—a result of his long compulsory urbanization. Still, it is a reasonable assumption that were the Jew a farmer today he personally would do little actual tilling of the soil. He is too good a business executive to expend in manual effort time that could more profitably be utilized in directing the productive activities of others. Instead, he probably would commercialize farming to an extent never attempted, organize its operations on a basis of greatest efficiency, and become a large employer of labor.

Industrially, the Jew is a producer, never a parasite; adding always to the world's usable wealth. Mostly he is a manufacturer, busied with the processes of production and distribution, increasing in volume and making more convenient of consumption life's essential commodities.

Also, the Jew is an artisan, highly skilled in all the superior crafts. The cunning of his deft fingers has fashioned things of use and beauty since creation's early dawn, when Tubal-Cain, dexterous scion of the First Family, was "an instructor of every artificer in brass and iron."

As an example of the Jew's dexterity in delicate craftsmanship, observe the many efficient Jewish dentists, as compared with the myriad Gentile bunglers in that really difficult art. I have yet to encounter an inept Jewish odontologist.

In my capacity as a newspaper writer, coming into contact with the Jew in nearly every station and occupation, I have had exceptional opportunity for observing his ability and adaptability, his mental qualities and his traits of character. I have found that, while he clings tenaciously to class fundamentals, in incidentals he is amazingly adaptive, readily accommodating himself to new environment and with easy facility adjusting his methods to altered conditions, thereby greatly adding to his capacity for accomplishment.

The Jew has strong powers of application and perseverance, and a definite purpose in all he does. He is unafflicted with the curse of indirection. He is thorough and has a fixed passion for excelling. In these things lies largely the secret of his success.

Philomathy is more pronounced in the Jew than in any other race. At every age he is eager for enlightenment, an enthusiast for education. The precocity of Jewish children in our public schools is proverbial. The dullard pupil of Hebraic blood is unknown.

Triumphant over all perils and persecutions, defying every disadvantage hostile ingenuity could im-

pose, the Jew, leaving the cruel potencies of the sword to cruder peoples, has conquered the modern world with the weapons of his wits.

So recently released from his retarding oppressions, the Jew still is in a state of social transition; he has not yet fully found himself. When he shall have come entirely into his own, he will prove more than ever a dynamic factor in the process of general culture and progress.

It may be asked why, since the majority always is ruled by a minority, the Jews, in view of their solidarity and their superior resourcefulness, are not, despite their comparatively meager number, the ruling race. The answer is that there is no such thing as race-rule *per se.* Instead, there is, and always has been since the origin of organized society, class-rule. Even in the case of a people temporarily subjugated by another, within the subject people their own class-rule has existed. In all nations the classes rule the masses, and with the extension of world-intercourse and the consequent interdependence of the prevailing interests, international class-rule has been established. Governments, everywhere and always, are subordinate to these master-interests and function consistently in their behalf.

The Jews have demonstrated their dominant qualities by contributing to this ruling class a quota greatly exceeding the relative proportion of their own number.

Dissatisfaction is a distinguishing characteristic of the Jew, who makes the trait a virtue instead of a fault. He has the evolutionary impulse to improve his condition. He never is content with his lot, therefore does not stagnate. This is true in spiritual as well as material matters; he is reaching always toward a larger life and a richer fulfillment of living.

The record of Jewish achievement, not only in science and invention, but also in art and letters and every field of esthetic endeavor, is ample assurance that this race will contribute its full share of worthy jewels to the diadem of culture that shall crown the New Civilization.

JEWS IN FINANCE AND INDUSTRY

JEWISH commercialism, like other Hebraic characteristics, is partly inherent and partly acquired. Although Jews have specialized in merchandising and developed an abnormal business acumen under a forced economic environment, it can not successfully be contended that they would not be devotees of commerce had they not been driven into traffic; in turning to trade under racial restrictions they probably followed the tribal predisposition.

Originally a pastoral people—shepherds and agronomists—yet the Jews early manifested a strong instinct for barter and a superior shrewdness therein, as witness Jacob's tricky cattle trade with his father-in-law, Laban the Syrian, in the land of Pandan-Aram. As a livestock expert Jacob appears to be the prototype of the modern Jewish packing-house magnate, who knows not kosher. Jacob was bright as a boy, and never over-scrupulous in family dealings, for he cheated his brother Esau of his birthright and later defrauded him of the paternal blessing when in myopic senectitude Isaac neglected to consult an oculist.

Later came Joseph, another financial genius, who as governor of Egypt used his official opportunity to effect the first commercial monopoly of record; cornering the corn [wheat] of the country, even as in our own generation did his kinsman and namesake, Joseph Leiter, on the Chicago Board of Trade.

According to the earliest trade reports, the serpent introduced the clothing industry into the Garden of Eden.

It is the practice of Jewish writers to deny the Jew's dominance in finance and his superior wealth, as if riches were a reproach and commercial success a crime. It is true, of course, that there are not as

many Jews of vast fortune and in control of great industrial concerns as there are non-Jews. But the proportion of such Jews is greater compared with the relative numbers of the races. Nearly all Jews have to some degree the financial faculty, an inherited commercial instinct, the ability for acquisition, which the majority of Gentiles have not, and without which the Jewish race could not have survived under the adverse economic conditions that so long have environed it. It is true that certain other races, such as the Armenians, are keener than the Jew in the business of small bartering; but they lack the Jew's capacity for large financial operations.

On the other hand, the extent of both the Jew's wealth and his commercial ability undoubtedly is overestimated in the Gentile mind. It is difficult to determine just at what point minimization in the first case ends and exaggeration in the other begins.

J. W. Kelly, the old-time vaudeville monologist, never failed to draw a laugh when he said, "God loves the Irish—but he gives the Jews all the money." This jest excited the risibilities of the audience more than ordinarily because it expressed the popular conception of the Jew's economic condition. "As rich as a Jew" is one of the commonest comparisons.

It is an erroneous idea, however, that the Jews as a whole are excessively affluent or that they are extraordinarily gifted in finance. This mistaken impression doubtless is due to the fact that, while there is not a greater aggregate of prosperity and ability among the race, there is a higher average of both—less economic inequality and mental disparity. Nearly every Jew is to some degree a financier, but comparatively few are immoderately developed in that direction. The greater number of the world's money monarchs are non-Jews. While the Rothschilds are reputed to be the wealthiest family in the world, not many massed fortunes are in the hands of Jews, and none of the large landed estates are held by them. A considerable majority of the Jews are possessed of only moderate means. They even have their

schnorrers, although the Jewish beggar is relatively much rarer than the Gentile mendicant.

From a survey of great individual commercial undertakings, it appears that among the Jews is no modern Olympian upon whom has descended the mantle of Mercury.

Legendary wealth of Jews probably depends upon the circumstance that there is little destitution among these people. Most Jews, under normal conditions, are capable of acquiring a competence. Yet this is not done by miserly methods, but through the exercise of prudence. With them thrift does not mean parsimony. I have yet to see a penurious Jew. He is a niggard neither at home nor abroad. The Jew is a good liver and a good spender. Personally he has a hankering for the fleshpots, and he is provident of his family. Why, then, should we regard the Jew's financial independence as reprehensible? Society would be eased of much of its burden could Gentile incompetents follow the Jew's example of economic self-sufficiency.

Although the Jew is popularly regarded as the personification of the commercial spirit, he is, as has been indicated, matched and sometimes surpassed in this respect by the Greeks, Armenians, and other eastern peoples (among non-Caucasians, the Japanese), and by the commercial canniness of the Scot, if not also by Yankee keenness. Concerning this, Arnold White, in "The Modern Jew," says: "On the Yankee of the Eastern States, the Auvergnat, the Scotchman, the Armenian, and on the Greek mercantile community he makes no impression: he bites a file."

It is charged that the Jew is not attached to the land. It can not be denied, nor should one care to deny, that the Jew does not monopolize the natural sources of production. His economic ethics are not those of the Gentile. Yet, whatever tendency toward land-holding he originally may have had, has been eradicated by long denial of the right to realty.

It is not true that the Jew never possessed love of the land. Before commerce had been extensively

developed and while occupational choice remained to him, the Jew was a son of the soil. In common with all primitive peoples, he extracted his sustenance from the earth. As far back as the Adamic period we have a record of the Jews as agriculturists. Cain and Abel formed the first farming and stock-raising combine, and got along together in business about as harmoniously as brothers usually do. Then came Jabal, first-born of Lamech, of whom we are told, "he was the father of such as dwell in tents, and of such as have cattle." Although a large number of the early Jews were nomadic, looking upon the land merely as temporary grazing ground for their flocks and herds, much as the stockman of our pioneer West regarded the open range, many others were tillers of the soil. Had the Jew been allowed to continue such pursuits it is probable he would have developed their commercial possibilities to the highest attainable degree; that more efficient farming methods now would obtain, animal breeding would be more of a science than it is, and we would have a more effective system of foodstuff distribution. As it is, the Jew devotes himself to commerce, and does very well at it.

Another stock complaint against the Jew is that he is a usurer. It being impossible to obtain the full and exact facts in this matter, conclusions must be formed from the incomplete evidence available. In my investigations of those forms of financial operations that afford most opportunity for usury, I have found that, contrary to popular belief, non-Jews predominate in this field. Of course, from the limited extent of my researches it is difficult to determine whether this condition is universal, but as they were conducted in metropolitan communities it may be assumed that the data are fairly representative.

The Jew is not naturally usurious; that is, extortion is not according to the Jewish nature nor consistent with Jewish principles. If the Jew has adopted the practice of usury, we may believe it is because of circumstances originally forced upon him. To profit exorbitantly from the necessities of others is expressly

forbidden and sternly reprehended by the leaders and teachers of Israel, the prophets and patriarchs, as witness the following:

"Thou shalt not lend upon usury to thy brothers; usury of money, usury of victuals, usury of anything that is lent upon usury." (Deut., xxiii:19.)

"And if thy brother be waxen poor, and fallen in decay with thee; then thou shalt relieve him: *yea, though he be a stranger, or a sojourner;* that he may live with thee. Take thou no usury of him, or increase. . . . Thou shalt not give him thy money upon usury, nor lend him thy victuals for increase." Levit., xxv:35-37.)

"If thou lend money to any of my people that is poor by thee, thou shalt not be to him as an usurer, neither shalt thou lay upon him usury." (Ex., xxii: 25.)

"He that by usury and unjust gain increaseth his substance, he shall gather it for him that will pity the poor." (Prov., xxviii:8.)

"Lord, who shall abide in thy tabernacle? . . . He that putteth not his money to usury." (Psalm xv:1, 5.) "Even to a non-Jew," adds the Talmudic commentary. (Makkoth, xxiv.)

Nearly the entire fifth chapter of Nehemiah is devoted to a denunciation of usury. The prophet Ezekiel is exceedingly severe on the usurer, making repeated reference to his offenses, and in one place saying he that "hath given upon usury, and hath taken increase . . . he shall surely die."

The limited extent to which usury is practiced by Jews in violation of Jewish ethics and Jewish law is easily explainable. It is an inheritance of Gentile iniquity. During the periods of their most serious persecution the Jews had recourse to usury to recoup for confiscation. They felt that in this practice they were only regaining their own—forcing restitution.

Usury, by the way, appears to be not only exclusively of Gentile origin, but preponderantly of Christian practice. Gentiles not blessed with enlightened Christian ethics do not indulge it. Mohammedan law

forbids "lending money at usury," and the benighted Moslem whom missionaries would convert to the Christian moral code, holding the peculiar notion that religious tenets should be observed, obeys literally this injunction. British financial reports show that in a single bank in Cairo are deposits of $10,000,000 on which the depositors refuse to accept interest.

Is it the Jew's fault that he is a money-lender, when he was driven to deal in gold at a time when capital was forced to be creditor in order to be productive?

To assert that the practice of usury is general among Jews, however, is absurd, if for no other reason than that in latter days, especially in America, the Jew is more of a borrower than a lender. He is expert in the science of finance, and knows how to make money work for him—to make dollars the servants of his desires. Wherefore, he finds it more lucrative to hire money for himself than to lease it to the service of others. In his use of money as a borrower instead of a lender we find the same principle that impels him to become an employer instead of remaining an employé—to have others work for him instead of himself working for others.

"The Jew sees possibilities in a nickel that wouldn't be apparent to others in a hundred dollars," says Theodore Dreiser, the novelist. "He has a natural reluctance to be employed; with ever so little capital, plus much imagination, he embarks perilously but courageously upon a business of his own. It may be on an absurdly small scale—no more than a push-cart or a peddler's basket, perhaps—but it fires his imagination with visions of unhampered opportunity such as no regular pay-envelope could offer."

It is not surprising that the occasional Jew is guilty of financial malpractice. His people have been forced to resort to commercial camouflage, and necessity has made them masters of all the tricks of traffic. Anyway, in such practices they are but playing a competitive game with the Gentile, and who righteously may reprehend them if they excel thereat?

The economic reason for excluding the Jew from the less fluid forms of wealth and forcing him into finance is readily perceivable. Rulers found him a convenient collector of tribute. He was allowed to exercise his superior powers of acquisition until his accumulation of the possessions of the non-Jewish population was sufficiently large, when a transfer of the accretion was accomplished by the simple process of confiscation. A perfect analogy is found in the bee, which, as the more efficient honey-gatherer, is permitted to harvest and store his sweets until his hive-chambers are filled, when he is robbed of the product of his toil, the process being repeated endlessly. Man scarcely would permit the bee to invest his surplus saccharinity in flower gardens or clover fields instead of yielding it periodically to his hand.

Instead of direct and indiscriminate spoliation of the masses for revenue by official robbers, the predatory process was simplified by using the Jew as a sponge to absorb the public financial fluidity, then squeezing him dry.

This was frankly the practice of the Hohenzollerns, and Frederick William I. in his testament thus advised his successor: "See that the Jews do not increase too much, but keep a few of them, for they are always handy to squeeze out a few thousand thalers for your pleasure that you can not get elsewhere."

Legally restricted in his possessions to property of a portable nature in order to facilitate seizure, for sake of safety the Jew confined his wealth to the form of least visibility and its utilization to channels of least accessibility, and so became a money-lender. While this protected him in a measure from forcible robbery by individuals, the same end was achieved by the state through special taxation. As the bee is despoiled of his surplus store of sweets (again that apiarian analogy —its perfection is irresistible!), so the Jew was relieved of his financial redundance by legal process. He was not wholly beggared in this operation, however, for just as the bee is left a supply of honey sufficient for his nourishment until another store can be gath-

ered, so the Jew, from the same conservative considerations, was allowed to retain the small capital necessary as a nucleus for further accumulation.

In business dealings with the Jews, the individual was more direct than were governments. His simple method of adjusting financial matters was to cancel the debt by killing the creditor. Which accounts in a measure for the prevalence of race prejudice and the popularity of pogroms.

According to this same principle, national governments as a rule allow their people the necessary interval of a generation between wars, to renew manpower and recoup finances for another fight. If any doubts the mathematical method in this program, believing wars to be fortuitous and unavoidable instead of deliberately designed, a reference to history will show that rulers plan wars with unfailing periodicity. This is a part of the Gentile system of government.

Industrially, the Jew is constructive and productive. In business he is a builder. In the purely monetary field he is given to constructive finance, being an investor rather than a speculator. There are few Leiters among the race, and even Leiter's speculative career was as brief as it was spectacular—in later life he turned his attention to productive investment.

This constructive bent of the Jew partly is due to his realization that money is not intrinsic wealth; he has a sufficient economic understanding to know that money has no value in itself, that it simply serves as exchange media, providing counters for transactions in goods. He recognizes the further fact that enlarged opportunity for individual enrichment depends upon the increase of the aggregate of communal wealth, which in turn is regulated by the volume of production.

It is a business policy of the Jew to concentrate on special lines of trade instead of scattering his forces and resources. In the United States the Jews have the mastery of the theaters, and of the clothing, jewelry, tobacco, and furniture trade. They gradually are growing toward control of shoe production. The

motion-picture industry largely is in the hands of Jews, and to them it owes mostly its marvelous development. In all these things the Jew still is constructive. He does not yet figure extensively in the transportation field, but when he comes to do so it will be found he would rather build a railroad than wreck one.

Modern finance, as distinguished from medieval trade, is chiefly the creation of Jews. They lead as bankers, for which form of finance, by reason of their long experience as money-lenders, they have a peculiar affinity and a special fitness. Their general influence in international finance is such that a race that so recently was the battered plaything of rulers now has the power, if pleased to use it, virtually to dictate the world's political policies.

How may we reconcile the undoubted Jewish economic dominance with the absence of a greater aggregate of racial wealth and any individual superiority in the technique of finance? The answer is found in race solidarity, pooling of family interests and resources, more equable distribution of capital, a better average of ability, more general methods of co-operation, and a faculty for controlling conditions and adjusting situations.

Nothing could be farther from the truth than the belief by Gentiles that all Jewish valuations are vulgar —measured in terms of money. Especially is this the case in the Jew's social life and his domestic relations. Jews esteem learning and intellectuality above material wealth. It is the ambition of almost every Jewish family of substance that a daughter shall wed a scholar or a genius, with little regard for his financial condition. Contrast this attitude with the sordid matching of fortunes in matrimonial alliance by rich Gentiles.

It would not be strange, however, did the Jew place an excessive value on the possession of wealth and strive unduly to acquire it. To him gold is a shield that guards him against his enemies more securely than could any buckler of iron or steel.

It has been said that money is not everything, but it will buy the rest. This is not quite true, but the Jew found it would buy most of the things he did not possess. It will not buy an ideal; but the Jew already has that.

Also, the Jews have learned that influence goes with affluence. They found that the scepter of power was fashioned of gold. Possession of much of this potent metal made an enslaved people masters of their masters. There is less sovereignty in directing earth's empires than in dominating the money markets of the world.

It was with a hammer of gold that the Jew was able to strike off his shackles and knock at the gates of a fuller freedom.

Richard Wagner, the composer, who aroused the bitterest resentment of the Jews by his brochure on "Judaism in Music" (albeit he was credited with being himself a Jew), truthfully has said:

"In the present state of things the Jew is more than free, he dominates; and as long as money continues to be the power before which all our doings and strivings are as naught, he will continue to do so."

En passant, it does not appear reasonable, despite much plausible evidence in that direction, that Wagner was a Jew; were this so, his colossal egotism, one might believe, would have restrained him from this virulent attack upon Jews, which bears the marks of fanatical sincerity.

Truly, the Jew has the instinct for traffic, but in his merchandising he is more than a trader. He is a pioneer of progress, the *avant-courier* of industrial improvement. He is a modern Argonaut whose adventurous argosies have carried the message of a higher civilization over every sea that reflects a sail to every land where floats a flag.

RELIGION OF THE JEWS

RELIGIOUS concepts express the ideals of a people. Or, rather, religion, in its form of worship, is an emotional expression of the life of its adherents; for the ideals of any people are better than their daily living, being something above and beyond the quality of accustomed human accomplishment. In the faith of Judaism, therefore, is crystallized the aspirations of the Jewish race.

Man also is reflected in his religion, and in his god he sees his sublimated self. Thus, Jehovah, although appropriated by alien godless peoples in need of an object of adoration, is distinctively a Jewish deity, with characteristic racial qualities. Of him we are told, "God created man [the Jew] in his own image." Moreover, he was endowed with the semblance of mortal character; human attributes were ascribed to him, intensified to a degree befitting Deity—all, however, bearing the unmistakable tribal trademark as an impress of proprietorship and a proof of origin. Through all the ages since his first ascendancy, extending his empire and swaying the spiritual life of all civilization, and retiring his most powerful rivals, Jehovah has stood the world's crowning work of ecclesiastic craftsmanship; adored by the elect and adopted by aliens, enforcing from the dawn of his dominion that jealous mandate thundered from the summit of Sinai, "Thou shalt have no other gods before me." The Chosen People have their chosen god, and others choose him also. Always in this connection am I reminded of Ingersoll's famous paraphrase, "An honest god is the noblest work of man."

To the Gentile mind Jehovah not always may appear as an admirable god, but always is he an efficient god—potent, compelling, and stamped with the majesty of a mighty people.

Originally there were distinguishing national gods among all peoples, just as there always have been distinguishing national customs and traits. Jehovah is the Jewish god just as surely as Hebrew is the Jewish language. Instead of Jehovah choosing the Jews as his people, the Jews chose Jehovah as their god. The fact of such initiative in selection reverses the traditional order of creation.

Although all civilized peoples of antiquity nationalized their gods, none others nationalized their religious practices to the extent that did the Jews. Their government was wholly theocratic. Moses was wonderfully wise, and he well understood the principles of control necessary to the discipline of a primitive people. Wherefore were not only moral laws, but the civil code and hygienic ordinances as well, embodied in Jewish theology; Moses realized that the only way to insure universal obedience in such things was to make them matters of religious observance. There were few policemen or sanitary inspectors in those days.

Characteristically racial, all the symbolism of the Jewish religion is expressed in terms of material values. Gold, pearls, and precious stones commonly are used for comparisons of moral worth. But this has not smothered the deeper and higher and broader significations of Judaism. Jehovah of the Jews has been and remains the god of civilization; the God of Christendom, with its countless sects, and the Allah of Islam.

Formal Judaism, with its ordinances and dogmas, is only the grosser medium of the movement, and alone is provincial; the soul of Israel, which essentially is catholic, is its ideal.

There is that which is fundamental and universal in the Faith of the Fathers and the Mother of Faiths. Counting Jews, Christians, and Moslems, an actual total of 850,000,000 persons, or approximately half the world's population, find in Israel the inspiration for their religious faith. A theistic system that can dominate so large a part of the human race must be something more than a depository of tribal traditions

or a collection of dessicated creeds; it must contain spiritual substance upon which the soul can feed.

In its fundamentals, both of principle and of operation, Judaism is a rational religion, which in its general scheme must appeal to the sound social philosopher. It makes human conditions dependent upon human actions, thereby promoting morality and equity. Its theory of compensation, comprehending equally reward and punishment, is based upon the inexorable law of cause and effect. Christianity, on the other hand, ignores all logical consequences, and, with its vicious doctrine of vicarious atonement that repudiates personal responsibility, removes the strongest incentive to rectitude and puts a premium on evil-doing.

For an adequate understanding thereof, the Jewish religion must be considered in a dual sense—theologically and ethically. Theologically, it represents the practical aspects of the Jewish people; ethically, it represents their idealistic nature.

Despite his intense idealism, the Jew never loses sight of life's practicalities. This mental attitude is reflected largely and clearly in his religion. Instead of dwelling upon a nebulous nowhere in an indeterminate future, he has a present objective of proximate tangibility. He demands that his God deal fairly with him, according to proper business principles; for services rendered he exacts a reward of reasonable immediateness. He is solicitous for his terrestrial welfare and desires a realization of his dreams.

Religion to the Jew is more than a methodology. It is life. Man's eventual meaning is contemplative. It is identity.

Judaism is a living force, a vital verity, a constructive factor, a tangible, palpitant social power in the concrete world-organism.

One Jewish editor has epitomized the matter thus: "The religion of the Jew is an attempt to understand the infinite and apply it to the individual as a member of a mass."

From this we can perceive why Judaism holds

that, in fulfillment of prophetic hope, the Messiah will come to redeem, not the Jews alone, but all mankind. The Messiah, truly conceived, is not a personage, but the symbol of a condition.

Christians, on the contrary, are evangelically exclusive; they insist on a restricted salvation, a religious trust, a spiritual monopoly. Their plan of redemption is copyrighted, and they brand all others as unauthentic. The sweetest joy to which the average orthodox Christian looks forward, when he shall reach heaven, is that of leaning over the ramparts of glory and watching heretics writhe in hell.

Jewish ideals are not so much a matter of faith as of fact. Jews live their religion, thereby proving the effect of conduct on character. To do good is to be good.

The Jew is better than his religion; Christians are worse than their religion. This probably is because Christianity is more of an abstraction than is Judaism, and those who profess it regard it as rather an impersonal thing, not to be made a part of their daily life. Christianity is largely a spiritual theory, while Judaism is a working condition. Christians sing "Jesus Paid It All," and believe they can get into heaven on a complimentary ticket; the Jew knows he must pay the price of admission with worthy service.

While on the subject of Jewish religion, I can not refrain from paying a tribute to the high character and abilities of American rabbis. With their learning, their eloquence, their earnestness, their power of leadership, their general culture, and their fine personal qualities, they constitute the most admirable intellectual body in the world. Their superiority in all respects over the Christian clergy is much greater than is the difference between the respective religions. Contrast the magisterial mentality of a Hirsch or a Wise or a Harrison with the mediocre minds of such grotesque clowns as Sam Jones or Billy Sunday or "Gypsy" Smith. It may be objected that such comparison is unfair, that these vulgar charlatans who profane the Christian pulpit are not representative

of the ministerial body. Yet they must meet the requirements of organized Christianity, for they are approved and aided by the clerical regulars of all sects except the Roman Catholic (which does not countenance religious revivals as conducted by mountebank evangelists), and are enthusiastically supported by vast numbers of the Protestant laity. Moreover, in most Protestant churches the pastoral standard is very low. Time was when it was almost a general rule among families of a certain class that the incompetent sons should be trained for the ministry. Some denominations even dispensed with the training. The pulpit is regarded as a convenient refuge for society's respectable failures. If you doubt this, make the rounds of the churches in your community and listen to the sermons. The Christian ministry has known but one man of Beecher's mold—what an excellent rabbi he would have made!

Sometimes it has been charged that in my writings on religious topics I am too iconoclastic and not sufficiently constructive. In these disquisitions it is my aim to avoid cause for such complaint. Whenever I shatter an idol, in its stead I shall endeavor to erect a guide-post.

Anyway, there is little of logic in the utterances of those who inveigh against the iconoclast, complaining that his mission is not constructive. Iconoclasm has its importance in any progressive program. The destructionist is quite as necessary as the constructionist. To fashion a new fabric we first must demolish; the wrecker must clear the way for the builder. The rotting structure of Ignorance and Superstition must be razed before upon its site the enduring edifice of Thought and Truth can lift its splendid spires.

ORTHODOXY AND REFORM

HERE'S where the big trouble begins. To paraphrase, "Nobody loves a neutral." Offensive fighting is necessary to a following. The partisan is supported in his fight by the party he favors, which must render him aid in order to defend its own position. The neutral stands alone, and must fight alone; for fight he must—a defensive battle—for both sides take a slam at him. None believes in his neutrality—not even other neutrals. Nevertheless, despite its disadvantages, toward the opposing elements of Judaism I shall preserve my neutrality, as I would in a misunderstanding between two brothers whom I loved equally and each of whom I believed to be partly in the right.

Sentimentally, I am old-fashioned enough to cherish an affection for Orthodox Judaism, and be thrilled by its traditions. I admire its sturdy sincerity, and the staunch spirit that scorns all compromise. It may be mistaken, but it is heroic.

I find a fascination in antique faiths. There is something about them so genuine and substantial in both construction and finish; they are free from the flimsiness and veneer of superficial modernity.

Being progressive-minded in my practical moods, however, I must approve Reform Judaism—but I am glad it did not come sooner.

There is much of merit in Orthodoxy's present ceremonialism, the metamorphosed survival of forgotten formulas. It has been indispensable in giving to the essence of Judaism an enduring tangibility. It has supplied a needful disciplinary influence for holding the sorely tempted Jew steadfast to his faith in every ordeal, and through all the distractions of alien affairs it has kept him mindful of his mission. Forms

have kept him from forgetting when otherwise his interest might have failed.

An unfortunate thing about the Reform movement is that once the Jew has stepped outside the fence of orthodox faith, with its observances and obligations, it is so easy to step out of Judaism altogether. I can conceive no greater loss than that to the Jew who gives up Judaism. In doing so he casts away a priceless patrimony and disinherits his posterity.

As a matter of fact, though, there is no such thing as an Orthodox Jew in the strictest sense. The only people who rigidly adhere to all the Mosaic laws and have practiced the ancient rites without change for 3000 years are not Jews at all, but the Samaritans, a people of mixed blood, hereditary enemies of the Jews, and the only people with whom Jews today refuse to have dealings of any description.

All our social and religious life is a matter of symbolism, mainly covered with effete and forgotten meaning. Men oftentimes bow the head before an uplifted cross without any clear comprehension of its significance, and the Christian minister sits down well satisfied in his pulpit chair covered all over with symbols of Syrian Baal worship, complacently believing he is surrounded by emblems of the blessed Trinity. So the uncovered head and the clasped hand and the stereotyped formulas are gone through with by people who never think or care whether they have the meaning or not. To the Frenchman the violet speaks of the Bonapartes and the lily of the Bourbons. In everything the world is governed by the symbol, as the rude mining camp was awed and softened by the presence of a baby's shoe; and maybe when traditional Judaism reaches into the pockets of the past and brings forth its musty emblems and dusty ceremonials, it is better for the world even though the initiated know little and the profane know less of the truths typified.

So, I take my impartial stand regarding the two factions of Judaism, seeing good in both—and perhaps something of error in each, as with all other earthly things.

I approve the progressiveness of the Reform Jew; if I have any fault to find with him on the score of his religion, it is that he is too prone to make concessions to expediency.

On the other hand, while I may not always agree with the Orthodox Jew, I admire immensely his rigidly uncompromising spirit, his deathless determination to stand for what he holds to be right though hell upheave and the heavens fall.

Personally, in spiritual matters I long ago evolved beyond ecclesiastical religion. My emancipated thought spreads unfettered pinions outside the confines of any creed. I am free to say, however, that the Jewish faith appeals to me with greater force than does any other; and, were I ever to adopt any institutional religion, it surely would be Judaism. Yet, I realize that the Jewish religion is for the Jewish race alone, and not for me or any other Gentile; it is wholly and distinctively a *Jewish* religion. Still, while I reject its conventional faith and its ritualistic forms, its ideals are mine, its inspirations are my very own, and I share equally the heritage of its great hope.

The foregoing explanation is made lest misinterpretation of this discussion place me in the false position of apparently accepting any theological dogma, not simply to signify my rejection of formal Judaism.

But Judaism is not inert dogma or dessicated creed. Despite the ceremonies designed to give it concrete expression, it is a vital, conscious, constructive force, working toward a definite and rational end.

Judaism is not a doctrine; it is a destiny.

It may appear presumptuous for a non-Jew to explain to Jews the meanings of their own religion, as in the course of this chapter occasionally I shall do. I have found, however, that many of the younger generation of Jews are lamentably ignorant of the aims and purposes of Judaism; more deplorable still, they have no care in the matter. As Prof. Ralph Philip Boas says in an article in the *Atlantic Monthly:*

"If Judaism must be a group of men without religious ideals, incapable of making their intricate self-

consciousness meaningful and valuable, it is far better that Judaism should disappear."

Moreover, much of this matter is intended not alone for benefit of the Jew, but also for enlightenment of the non-Jew, for which reason it is more explanatory than otherwise it would be.

Any judicial consideration of Reform Judaism should be made in connection with its relation to general modern tendencies. Religious systems are not fixed, static things, like unquarried stone. They are living organisms that are continually changing. Even the Roman Catholic hierarchy, whose proudest boast is that it is eternally changeless and whose resistance to reform is most stubborn, has been forced to submit to modern mutations to retain the allegiance of its subjects. To Judaism I would say in the words of Swinburne:

"They shall pass and their places be taken,
The gods and the priests that are pure.
They shall pass, and shalt thou not be shaken?
They shall perish, and shalt thou endure?"

There must be evolution in all things, and not even Judaism may escape its universal effects. To insist that religious forms should remain unaltered is not more consistent than that we of today should use the archaic philological forms of Chaucer.

Whatever does not change does not grow, develop; whatever is static, stagnates.

To my mind there is no religion—nor any human institution, for that matter—but would be better, more effective, if trimmed of many of its meaningless and clogging non-essentials.

It has been the difficult task of the Reform movement to adapt the ancient forms of Judaism to the practicalities of the changed conditions of modern life without lessening the significance of its spiritual expression—to soften its rigidities while preserving its essence and not impairing its efficacy.

I have seen no better definition of Reform Judaism than that given by Rabbi Maurice H. Harris:

"The Reform movement seeks to get at the living essentials of the Jewish faith and apply them to life as it is today."

Rigid conformity to the requirements of traditional law is not consistent with the exacting demands of the present-day economic struggle. Nor is it compatible with new social conditions or an improved popular intelligence.

So, Reform Judaism seeks to reinterpret the Jewish religion in the light of modern science and advanced knowledge; to adapt its teachings to the spirit of progress and the exigencies of present conditions; to relieve it of obsolescent and cumbersome forms while retaining its ethical ideal.

The result of such reconstitution is not merely to make Judaism more universally acceptable, but also more universally accessible. It appeals effectively to that class of Jews whom rigid rituals exclude from Orthodoxy and who are in danger of falling entirely away from the faith. Also, it attracts to synagogue services thousands of liberal Gentiles not affiliated with Christian churches, whereby they are acquainted with Judaistic principles as by no other means.

Instead of reducing and weakening Judaism, the Reform movement augments and strengthens it. By adapting religious observances to the exigencies of existing conditions, it checks secessions from the faith, prompted by material expediency. The Jew who leaves Judaism does so not so much to get away from his faith as to escape its formalism. Usually he seeks refuge in the Society for Ethical Culture, which the synagogue Jew of both parties affects so thoroughly to scorn. But, estranged though he be from the letter of his ancient faith, he still is attached to the spirit thereof. The Jew remains a Jew. He can not discard his origin any more than he can evade his divine obligations or dodge his ordained destiny.

Judaism's futile forms, in common with the ceremonial superfluities of all ritualistic religion, are passing away because they are not in harmony with changed conditions. There no longer is place in the

modern utilitarian world for ancient beliefs and institutions whose only merit is their antiquity. We have learned that ethics are not dependent upon externalities. Yet, throughout all change and all circumstance Israel never will forsake its essential ideal, but to its righteous faith and its high hope will hold fast forever.

Reform and Orthodoxy represent the conflict of old and new thought. Orthodoxy resists the logical operation of evolutionary law and persists in clinging to many tribal traditions that long ago should have vanished in the mists of mythology. The Reform movement has transformed Judaism into a religious rationalism and substituted for the inflexible Talmudic tenets a system of progressive ethics. Yet for all their modern mode, its adherents are no less Jews, informed with the true Judean spirit, alive to the historic mission of Israel. The Reform Jew still possesses in its fullness that deathless belief in the destiny of his race which in the past has resisted every onslaught, triumphed over the sword and the stake, and survived all the violence of the Crusades and the Inquisition.

This Reform influence has comprehensively occidentalized Judaism in its outward forms, yet has not diminished its essential spirituality, but rather has augmented it; and if it has altered the inward essence, it has been only to refine and sublimate it.

Hopefully striving for present good, present-day Israel takes up in modern form the burden of its ancient prophets.

Perhaps on no other issue are Reform and Orthodoxy so widely apart as on Messianic Zionism—they are divided by the Diaspora. Respecting the Reform attitude toward this question I can do no better than to quote Israel Cohen, who, in his "Jewish Life in Modern Times," thus defines that position:

"The Reformers regard dispersion as Israel's final lot and as the divinely appointed means for universalizing the teachings of Judaism."

Rather, the Dispersion is a distribution. It might properly be called an expansion. It took away na-

tional power and in its place gave to Israel world power. For the land they lost the Jews were compensated with many lands. And only in this manner could be fulfilled the Jewish mission—"through permeation of mankind by the spirit of Judaism."

Orthodox Jews have a more materialistic conception of their mission. They believe it will be accomplished, not by a process of general spiritual diffusion, but by a radiation from a center of temporal power. They make literal interpretation of the Messianic legend. They long for a glimpse of lost glories. Any change they would have must be backward; they plan a return, not only to Palestine, but also to the Old Order; not realizing that although what once has been altered may further be altered, it never can be restored. This primitive Israel with its impossible desires, lingering anachronistically in a progressive age, impersonates Swinburne's "Notre Dame des Sept Douleurs," whom he thus questions:

"Dost thou dream of what was and no more is,
The old kingdoms of earth and the kings?
Dost thou hunger for these things, Dolores,
For these, in a world of new things?"

Indestructible though be the ideals of Judea, institutional Judaism can not stand against the irresistible forces of change when they reach their culmination. Judaism must modernize itself, even beyond the present modifications of Reform. The thing for Jews to do is to recognize and acknowledge the imminence of the discharge of their mission and accept whatever innovations that fact may impose.

"The past," says Zangwill, "is for inspiration, not imitation; for continuation, not repetition."

The Jew is essentially a religious being. His life must be filled with religious significances, either ceremonial or spiritual. There has been an overgrowth of the former, an accretion of the ages. In the exact ratio that ceremonialism is reduced, spirituality increases, and a better balance results. This process should be continued until the proper respective proportions are reached.

Reform denudes the faith of non-essentials, sanctions necessary departures from traditional law, and adapts Judaistic precepts to modern thought and conditions, while preserving all its innate integrities.

It is permitted to change the outer garb if the inner spirit remain unaltered. Man varies his apparel according to climatic conditions, and even in conformity to capricious modes, but his physical form still is in the First Image. So with the Jew in his religion. However the exigencies of modern existence may have forced him to alter ancient Jewish forms, he has relinquished none of the essentials of his faith, but remains steadfast as stone to his cherished ideals.

Still, a degree of ritualism may be needful for impressing meanings. Ceremonial law has a certain value as a means of moral discipline. The danger is that the realities of religion may be so inlaid with the minutiæ of observance that spiritual significance is obscured. Symbolism is good unless it be used as a substitute for active duty. But none can doubt the importance of such a ceremony as that of Seder night in perpetuating those beautiful beliefs that, like spiritual gems, have enriched the Jewish life and given it a divine distinction.

Also, Israel rightly treasures its loftier traditions. Others there be of no more worth than spilled wine, and these may quite as rightly be discarded. Yet who would question the inspiring influence of the Festival of Purim, for example, and who would have it discontinued? We should be careful not to cast away the wheat with the chaff.

Then, the importance of the Succoth festival, with its lessons of unity and equality. Who shall estimate the worth of exalted sympathy inspired by its fourfold symbolism, of the spirit of universal good-will that flows from its rich fount of rejoicing?

Again, who shall doubt the power of spiritual renovation of an observance of Yom Kippur? This occasion teaches the inescapable requirement of personal responsibility—that in real religion there can be no moral shirking. Its exactions are inexorable; there

is no "vicarious atonement"—no getting right with God without first getting right with one's fellowman. For robbery there must be restitution; for any wrong there must be appropriate amend. "The sins against God," the old teachers tell us, "Yom Kippur wipes out; but the sins against our fellowmen Yom Kippur does not wipe out unless we conciliate our fellowmen."

The rich traditions of Judaism are more than sentimental; they have a veritable value.

Nor am I insensible to the intrinsic value of ceremonials that keep alive in the Jew the significance of his ideals and a consciousnes of his mission.

Favorable as I am to Reform, I feel that if the old forms are necessary to hold the Jew steadfast to his faith it were better that every ceremony be observed than that he let go a single ideal.

Fealty to his ancestral faith should be the first concern of every Jew. Through all the perils and persecutions of the past this allegiance never wavered. Shall that long devotion, sanctified by infinite sacrifices, be allowed now to diminish? There is danger in security. As one writer has said: "Now that the Jew can observe his religion in peace, it has ceased to appeal to him."

Do not mistake me in these matters. Despite my religious radicalism, I would not attempt to shatter aught of truth that may abide in any Jewish tradition; and such effort of mine, if made, would not avail for the destruction of a single verity.

For most of the things I here have said I expect no approval, but only protest and criticism—the invariable reward of the neutral. I realize it is inevitable that the Orthodox Jew will object that I am partial to Reform, while the Reform element will maintain that I favor Orthodoxy. Either supposition is erroneous. I hold a brief neither for Orthodoxy nor for Reform, caring naught for incidentals, but champion only that fundamental faith and those common ideals to which both factions tenaciously cling.

CHRISTIANITY AND JUDAISM

JUDAISM is purely a religious institution, although it embraces many things not strictly spiritual, but which tend to conserve the welfare of the Jewish people.

Christianity, by contrast, is more political than religious, and more economic than either. All the different denominations are engaged in political war against one another, but every other object of strife is overshadowed by the economic consideration. The church is thoroughly commercialized.

The competitive character of the different divisions of institutional Christianity is well illustrated by the experience of a visitor in a certain town where were four unflourishing churches. "How's your church getting on?" this visitor inquired of a non-supporting pillar of one moribund tabernacle. "Not very well," was the disconsolate reply. "But"—more cheerfully —"thank the Lord, the others aren't doing a darned bit better!"

Hostility in Christendom; harmony in Israel. This difference in spirit is due in part to difference in structure, but more to different systems of operation; Christianity being competitive, while Judaism is co-operative.

It is true that the two branches of Judaism differ regarding forms, but they agree concerning fundamentals; and they do not hate and fight each other.

These antagonistic Christian sects have but one thing in common: opposition to the Jew. On this congenial issue even Protestant and Catholic can unite.

Christianity, so far as its clergy and executives are concerned, is a "religion for revenue only." It campaigns for converts on a high-tariff platform. The church organization is the greatest machine for mendicancy ever constructed. It is a colossal collection

agency. Its equipment is not primarily for spiritual endeavor, but for profit. Church auditoriums are not sanctuaries, but counting-houses; ministers are sordid money-changers. The movement appears to be in a perpetual state of pauperism, and its insatiate cry to the giving public is, "More! for Christ's sake, more!" Its hand is forever outstretched for alms—to receive, not to bestow. All else is subordinated to the business of begging, which is systematic in method, chronic in character, incessant in operation, and endless in the duration of its distress. The idea that "salvation is free" is entirely erroneous. Parasitic proselyters "play both ends against the middle." They obtain funds from their followers for the making of converts, then solicit the converts to "come across." A Chinaman attending a Christian mission thus expressed his impression of the situation, "God, him allus bloke." Spiritual considerations are incidental to the formation of "funds." The aim appears to be less to persuade sinners to part with their sins than to induce saints to part with their money.

As for so-called Christian "charity," which is the pretext for so many holy hold-ups and sanctified confidence games, one is forced to the conclusion that it is business, not benevolence. Its acquisitional activities always are in evidence, its beneficiaries are strangely difficult to discover. Is it not a bit peculiar that with such large accumulation for the purpose, there is so little reduction of destitution? Why are there not effective results as in Jewish relief work?

As a result of my sociologic investigations, both as a newspaper writer and in a private capacity, I am justified in declaring that organized charity is organized graft. The only exception I would make is the Hebrew charities, which, according to my best belief, are administered solely to eleemosynary ends. To the religious Jew there could be no baser sacrilege than misuse of monies designed for relief of the poor. To Jewish dispensers of charity, their work is a duty; to Gentile directors of charity, their work is a profession.

Although Jews give with unsectarian generosity to all charities, they maintain separate organizations for relief of indigence among their own people. Here is where they come into economic conflict with the Christian church, which aspires to be exclusive administrator of all eleemosynary funds. Instead of rejoicing that such effective alleviation of social distress is being done by others, the proprietary Christian organization regards the Jewish machinery of relief as a rival that infringes upon its prerogatives, impairs its prestige as chief almoner, and reduces its rightful revenues. In other words, the Christian Graft Trust resents honest operations in a field it fain would monopolize.

Jesus, no doubt, was sincere in his professions, and I can not conceive of his having dishonest pecuniary designs. I am unable to see how he personally could profit from his economic doctrines, and that he would defraud the poor is a thing unthinkable. It was those who came after him that saw financial opportunity in the field he had opened. To serve their mercenary ends they distorted his doctrines, ascribed to him words he never uttered, founded a church, and formed congregations for purposes of contribution.

New religions always afford excellent revenue to their founders and leaders, as witness such modern innovations of Christianity as Mormonism, Dowieism, Christian Science, etc. Each of these sects has a most elaborate economic fabric. Few undertakings are so profitable as that of originating a fresh form of Divine worship. Both Mary Baker Eddy and John Alexander Dowie left an estate of millions, derived wholly from religious exploitation. Joseph Smith was so unfortunate in business as to be slain by a mob of Christian competitors before his system was fully established, but his immediate successor, Brigham Young, died possessed of much wealth and many wives.

These new systems always are ruthlessly opposed and relentlessly persecuted by the old Christian organizations, which find them spiritually heretical and

financially harassing. The Christian Scientists, a very superior class both mentally and morally, and to a large extent socially and financially, were maligned in every possible manner, ridiculed by the press and harried by the law, until their growing numbers gave them economic and political power sufficient for protection. Some years ago the mobbing of Dowieites was one of our most popular outdoor pastimes. The Mormons, who actually are a most admirable people, were for years misrepresented and made the victims of every form of violence and all other oppression. In fact, their experience of hostile propaganda and hateful pogroms, murder and robbery, and, lastly, legal restriction, closely resembles that of the Jews in all except duration.

Some of us can remember when even the lowly Salvation Army, which was taking considerable collections at its street meetings and keeping many away from the churches, was denounced from pulpits until members of conventional congregations mobbed its followers with much frequency.

All this antagonism against new religious movements results from the fact that they interfere with the operation of the established machinery of church economics and partly divert the flow of revenue from charted channels. If the Jews would ally themselves with interchurch movements and pool their congregational finances, doubtless they would be exempt to a degree from sectarian enmity.

By the same token, the Protestant Reformation was distinctly an economic revolt, and in no sense a moral movement. We find its beginnings in the undertaking of Leo X. to complete the rebuilding of St. Peter's Cathedral in Rome, begun by Julius II., for which enormous funds were required. This money Leo decided to raise by the sale of papal Indulgences. In Germany a great part of this traffic was handled on a commission basis by Archbishop Albert of the dual diocese of Mainz and Madgeburg. In the latter province was Wittenberg, the home of Martin Luther, an Augustinian monk and a university instructor.

It chanced also that Archbishop Albert was deeply in debt to the banking family of Fuggers in Augsburg. To obtain the money for a full discharge of this obligation he determined to "clean up" on this special sale of Indulgences, with the able assistance of his sub-commissioner, John Tetzel, a Dominician monk and an experienced Indulgence merchant. At a conference of the archbishop and his creditors, who saw in this sale their only hope for reimbursement, an intensive drive was decided upon, in which the bankers' personal agents actively participated. This campaign was so aggressively pushed that the German princes and politicians were alarmed by the rapidity with which the country was being drained of money, which effluxion promised to leave little for their own revenue graft. Big banking interests also were dismayed by this financial flow from Germany to Italy.

In this situation the sagacious Luther saw the opportunity for promoting his personal interests. He already was in rebellious mood and ripe for insurgent action. Adept in ecclesiastical politics, he had won rapid advancement in sacerdotal office until, his ambition fired by this series of successes, he aspired to the supreme honor of the pontificate. Thwarted in this design, he had nursed his disappointment until it became an obsession. A shrewd opportunist and a skilled agitator, he seized the excellent chance afforded by economic conditions. Enlisting the aid of the princes and financiers, whom he easily convinced of the benefits that would accrue to them from the movement, he launched his insurrection against Rome, which, owing to the powerful support and effective protection given him, proved both successful and safe. Political expediency, however, prevented Luther realizing his dream of becoming pope of his own movement.

Conflict between Catholics and Protestants is sedulously fostered by their respective clergy from motives of economic self-interest. Obviously, it equally is of advantage to the clergy of both sects to make common cause against the Jew, but latterly the greater

part of the Protestant laity has grown too tolerant for such bigotry, openly displayed.

With the Romish church the situation is different; here, there is no occasion for diplomacy. In parochial schools children are taught, as a part of the curriculum, to hate Jews and Masons. Despite all denial by Catholics, let none doubt this statement, for my associations have been such that I speak from absolute knowledge. Those familiar with the details readily can account for the opposition to Masonry. In the matter of the Jew this calculated tutelage of antagonism partly is because his heresy against the Roman hierarchy is greater in degree than that of Protestant Christians, but chiefly for more direct economic reasons.

Whatever prejudices may influence the attitude of the laity, with the clergy of all denominations opposition to the Jew is purely a competitive economic proposition. Gentiles—wearied of platitudes and attitudes, of posers and prosers in their own pulpits—in increasing number are attending synagogue services, where they may listen to something worth hearing. The discourses of the rabbis are ethical; the sermons of the Christian pastors are theological. The clergy foresee the disintegration of Christian dogmas under the ideals of Judaism. They dread the day when they shall stand in *Othello's* shoes, in an occupational sense. And for this who shall blame them? A Gentile preacher out of a job is the most pathetically helpless (and useless) of all earth's creatures.

Church parties of rival religions, organized to fight for control and its emoluments, in their motives and methods do not differ materially from political parties. Their propaganda is similar, their tactics are nearly identical, and their purposes are not more praiseworthy. The contest in each case is for power and spoils.

Religious competition approaches the day of its doom. Under rational analysis it is found that the warring denominations provide sectarian distinctions without fundamental difference, just as opposing po-

litical parties create campaign issues of negligible consequence. Struggle for institutional influence and financial gain by the churches is obstructive in the spiritual development of men. Impatient of ceaseless controversy among their ordained leaders, the laity have taken matters into their own hands, and already creedal dissension is declining. Judaistic co-operation soon will be ascendant.

Christianity antedates Jesus by thousands of years. Jesus was a good Jew. All good Jews are Christians; few Gentiles are. None other is so anti-Christian as the average professor of Christianity.

CITIZENSHIP OF THE JEW

IN NOTHING is the Jew better qualified than in his fitness for citizenship. In his every aspect he is a politico-social asset of veritable value. He contributes in liberal quota to the prosperity of any community of which he is a part, and his civic attitude is such as to give permanence of public benefit to whatever of personal success he may achieve.

The modern Jew is not by nature nomadic; his migrations have been forced upon him. He has strong love of locality. Being the world's orphan, owing allegiance to no fatherland, the Jewish immigrant does not plan departure from the land of his adoption, taking with him his locally-acquired possessions; therefore, he is economically desirable.

Without national identity, he attaches himself to whatever country to which he comes; he becomes an integrant part of its institutions and a factor in its development. He does not drain it of its wealth.

The Jew adds the most substantial texture to the social fabric. Stable in character and definite of purpose, he builds permanently and securely. Solicitous always for his posterity, he builds also for the future. His civic code is based on the family life, which is the best insurance of its integrity.

The vicissitudes of his varied experience has given the Jew an extreme facility of adaptation to new environments, an exceptional faculty for adjustment to unaccustomed conditions, which unfortunately does not always distinguish in any degree the polyglot population of our neodamodic America—this great mosaic of nationalities.

"Nor do they remain mere passive creatures of their environment, but actively assist in molding it anew," says Israel Cohen in his "Jewish Life in Modern Times."

This disposition to do his part in civic construction, knowing that the security of individual interests depends upon the general welfare, makes the Jew a formidable force in communal progress and upbuilding.

In addition to his superior energy and enterprise and the fine mental equipment that makes him an acceptable acquisition to any community, the Jew is possessed of a high regard for both personal and business honor that strengthens the fiber of the civic fabric and should command the esteem of his Gentile associates.

Respecting the quality of Jewish citizenship and a few incidentally related characteristics of the Hebrew race, permit me to present an article I published in 1898, which changing conditions have robbed of little of its pertinence:

"'I will buy with you, sell with you, talk with you, walk with you, and so following; but I will not eat with you, drink with you, nor pray with you.'

"So doth the gentle bard make his typical Jew define the relations between himself and his Christian neighbor.

"If this were no exaggeration in *Shylock's* time, even then the Jew was not blamable. Continually to be called a dog and spit upon in public places does not tend to make a man ready to extend or accept hospitality, or to respect the particular brand of godliness that is the motive for these offenses. It is expressly taught in the Christian religion that you must promptly turn the other cheek to the tough citizen who has smitten you, but it is no part of the Mosaic canon. On the other hand, the Jew is expressly commanded to administer the solar plexus cure for such cases of emotional insanity. But, in *Shylock's* time, the laws of Venice punished with death any obstreperous Hebrew who dared properly to resent the insult of a Christian; and, more effectually to convert him from the Mosaic law, followed up his execution with confiscation of all his property. In this one respect the Jew was compelled to become a Christian,

while, with a keen sense of equity, the Christian adopted the Jewish maxim, 'An eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth.'

"I am sorry to say that while the law now protects the person and property of a Jew, yet a large number of persons, even in this free country, think the Christian and Jewish maxims ought to be applied as they were in *Shylock's* time—that the Jew should turn the other cheek and the Christian should do all the smiting. This, to some extent, accounts for the fact that the average Jew of today, while perfectly willing to buy and sell and walk and talk with you, is not especially anxious to eat and drink with you, and refuses politely but firmly to pray with you or to pray for you. The intelligent Jew is proud of his race and proud of his religion, although he is not a very firm believer in it; and, however effusive he may be in matters of business, is yet very exclusive as regards his family and their domestic circle. Business relations, with him, do not extend inside the lintels of his door, for his home is not only his castle but his synagogue—it is the only temple of his faith.

"But, with all this Abrahamic exclusiveness, the Jew knows a good thing when he sees it—especially in the matter of citizenship. He makes a good citizen, and usually is in the neighborhood when there is any 'prosperity' to be distributed. In fact, if you strike an American town without its proper seasoning of Israel's children, you will find the Hon. Dry Rot in control of things. If the machinery of Progress is worth the trouble, there is sure to be some Jew around oiling it up with his goose grease. If it isn't worth oiling, he hunts some other place. And, no matter how poor a Jew may be, he always has some oil left in the can.

"I said a Jew makes a good citizen. This implies something more than the mere accumulation of wealth: it carries with it also a public-spirited and patriotic use of that wealth. He doesn't have to hoard his savings to send them home: the American Jew has no home except the United States—unless it be the New

Jerusalem. What money he doesn't put out for his own profit he uses for the upbuilding of his community and for insuring the stability of the government. So that, although he is somewhat slow in taking up the sword, and is not much gifted as a 'fire-eater,' his purse speaks his sentiments.

"Just now that class of Jews who are the poorest of all, and who are deemed the least patriotic, have organized a movement to purchase a warship for Uncle Sam. The Russian and the Polish Jew is looked down upon by many of his more fortunate brethren from Germany and France. Their lot has not been of the best, in the Old World, nor is it an enviable one in France today, but his has been infinitely worse. The mailed hand that smote them has worn a velvet glove; but his back has felt the knout made of knotted rawhide thongs. They may have been pelted with stones, and followed with curses on the public thoroughfare; but his neck has been under the hobnailed boot. They, at least, could expatriate themselves when they had scraped together a little money; but he had to drudge infinitely more for every kopeck, and run the risk of being treated as a criminal if he was known to be in possession of it. It is natural that these centuries of slavery, under the most brutal of masters, should have broken his spirit and made him suspicious and sullen and revengeful. In the darkness of ignorance, without hope of either enlightenment or escape, coming in contact only with the brutal and stupid and despairing serfs, it surely is to be expected that he would degenerate with the centuries, even though the outer world progressed the further every year. The scholar of Germany and the gentleman of France were creatures not even dreamed of in the limited circle of his rude experience.

"That this poor creature should have even desired liberty proves that every human has a trace of heaven in his soul; that he should have found his way to these shores must have been by the special providence of God. He came here to meet an odium and a contempt no other Jew ever is called upon to bear.

The German Jew might be a philosopher and scientist —the French Jew an artist or a critic; he had been only the companion of slaves, the servant of servants, in a land where every man must, of necessity, have some other man for master. He cared little for sneers and curses, for he soon realized that in this soil every seed could germinate, under this sky every soul could stand erect.

"Of course, there were exceptional men who, in Russia and Poland, acquired wealth and station despite their environment; but in the main my picture is correct. And there is a sublime pathos in the struggle this despised and humble Jew is making to have himself incorporated with the blood and body of this nation. He, too, would share in its glories and speak with the thunder-voice of its battle-guns; and the creature who dared not whisper in his Russian hovel now bids the voice of Liberty go pulsing round the world. It is a grand and laudable desire; one that, I trust, will find favor with the God of Israel."

JEWS AS REVOLUTIONISTS

"The old order changeth, yielding place to the new."—*Tennyson.*

DESPITE his devotion to his traditions, the Jew has a passion for progress. Nearly always he is the chief impelling influence in swift social changes. In communities where he is numerically negligible, conditions alter slowly.

The Jew is congenitally a libertarian. He has inherited a racial love of freedom existing since the Exodus. Consequently, he is constitutionally a revolutionist; he is born with the impulse for revolt in his blood.

It is a common error of ignorance to associate revolution with violence and disorder. Such an assumption is unphilosophical and absurd—a mistake never made by one with an actual understanding of social science. When violence attends revolution it results from resistance by vicious reactionary forces, just as it accompanies interference with any of nature's orderly operations. Revolution is change, and change is the law of life and a condition to development, being a part of the process of progress. Revolution is evolutionary, evolution is revolutionary; each an essential to the other. Of course, revolution always is resisted to some extent, for the conservatism of Established Order instinctively opposes innovation, but only a stagnant and vitiated society resists it violently.

Revolution re-forms outworn things and re-creates moribund ideals. It is this evolutionary impulse for revolution that endlessly readjusts the balances of life and keeps the plane of civilization at a perpetual incline on the long road from barbarism to brotherhood.

Says the philosopher Herder: "The working of revolution misleads us no more; it is as necessary to our race as are its waves to the sea, that it may not be a stagnant marsh. Ever renewed in its forms, the genius of humanity blossoms."

"Revolution is the larva of civilization," Victor Hugo affirms.

"Civilization is revolution," says Dr. Frank Crane. "Those nations are stable that have the genius of orderly revolution. Those nations are unstable and perish eventually that can not change. . . . The true revolution is growth. Democracy merely is that condition of liberty and freedom of movement in which revolution is constant and constructive. . . . All revolutions are a return to truth and nature and a clearing away of error. Hence, they do not destroy, they conserve. . . . We are coming to a better order, to more equal justice, to the reign of conscience, to the supremacy of the common good, to real co-operation; we are learning how to get along together as one big human family. . . . It is a big job. It means the reorganization of the world."

Is there here indicated any purpose not included in the Jewish ideal, or any task for which the Jew is not fully fitted?

All accepted authorities agree regarding the revolutionary character of the Jewish race.

"The Jewish spirit," says Bernard Lazare, himself a Jew, "is essentially a revolutionary spirit; and, consciously or otherwise, the Jew is a revolutionist."

Dr. Oscar Levy, London's Jewish savant, says: "No sincere Jew, and no one versed in the ancient history of their race, can deny that democratic and revolutionary tendencies have their root in the teachings of the Jewish prophets."

According to that zealous anti-Semite, Gougenet des Mousseaux—who frequently states a truth, but usually misapplies it—the Jew is "the designer, the constructor, and the chief engineer of revolutions."

Renan regarded the Jew as a prime element in social transformation and progress.

JEWS AS REVOLUTIONISTS

The Jew is both the leader and the support of intellectual insurrections as well as political revolts.

"The Jewish people always have possessed the genius for declaring revolutionary truths," says Ray Stannard Baker in his book, "The Spiritual Unrest," and reminds us:

"Many of the ideas that now are most deeply stirring mankind are the product of Jewish thinkers. The beginning of the Socialist movement traces back to two Jews, Marx and Lassalle; the peace movement had its inspiration in a book by Jean de Bloch, a Jew; and the Ethical Culture movement in America, the length and breadth of which is not yet appreciated, is largely the inspiration of Dr. Felix Adler, a Jew."

Without reflecting on the extent or thoroughness of Mr. Baker's historio-sociological researches, it may be said he has not gone back far enough in his quest for Jewish origins of revolutionary ideas. Jesus was the first Socialist of record, and the prophet Isaiah was a pioneer pacifist. In fact, the entire structure of Judaistic faith is based upon the ethical fundamentals of social justice and universal peace.

This revolutionary spirit is not confined to any intellectual, social, or economic class, but is shared in a measure by all Jews alike—millionaire and mendicant, aristocrat and proletaire, learned and unlettered. Actively identified with any movement for human betterment will be found in large numbers Jews of every degree.*

The Single Tax movement, while not originated by a Jew, is largely supported by Jews. It was chiefly financed by Joseph Fels in the latter years of his life, and since his death the widow has devoted a considerable part of her fortune to promotion of the propaganda. Among other Jews conspicuous in the movement are Daniel Kiefer and Samuel Danziger. Per-

*Although the revolutionary spirit exists within all classes of Jews, not all Jews are revolutionists, by any means. There be ultra-conservative Jews, and these are the most extreme of all reactionaries. Their Deity is the dollar and their Heaven is the social *status quo*.

haps the strong affinity of wealthy Jews for this economic doctrine may be accounted for to a considerable extent by the fact that few of them are heavy landholders, while they do have title to vast taxable realty improvements. It is not to be expected that from any economic proposition the element of self-interest will be entirely eliminated. I am constrained to believe, however, that the more potent appeal is to the Jew's keen sense of economic consistency.

Jews were among the first to espouse the cause of woman suffrage, and they still are foremost among the leaders of feminism.

Although the Jew is revolutionary, it always is to constructive ends. There may be an occasional antisocial individual holding destructive doctrines, but such isolated cases are not reckoned in considering race tendencies.

The Jew is socially constructive, among other reasons, because he builds for the future, beyond the span of his own brief living. Proud as he is of his ancient lineage, he yet realizes that posterity is of more importance than ancestry. Man survives in his progeny. The child is your only true immortality.

While the Jew lends himself to forcible revolution when necessary changes can be wrought by no other means, as a consistent conservationist he prefers to reach his results by political processes.

The spirit of righteous revolt has been manifest with the Jews throughout history, from those distant days when they rebelled against the despotism of Ahab and Ahaziah, down to the time of Russian revolution. Not only have they fought for their own freedom, but they have been leaders in the liberation of other peoples. Let us examine this record of revolt in modern years.

It was Daniele Manin, a Jew, that liberated Venice. Jews strongly supported the Carbonari and the Young Italy movement. Haym Salomon, a Jew of Polish origin, whose name is omitted from our school histories, financed the American Revolution, sacrificing his personal fortune to that purpose; incidentally,

his loan of $660,000 to the United States in 1775, which obligation compounded interest has increased to more than $150,000,000, never was repaid in any part to him or to his descendants. Jews were instrumental in bringing about the French Revolution. The revolution of 1848 in Germany was largely fomented and mostly financed by Jews, as was the Hungarian struggle for liberty in 1848-49 under the leadership of Louis Kossuth. Emilio Castelar, a Jew, was the chief figure in the republican uprising in Spain in 1866. We know something of the part played by Russian Jews in dethroning the czar and leading the miserable moujiks to liberty. Trotsky and Kerensky are Jews, as are Radek, Joffe, Sverdlov, Krassin, Zinovieff, Litvinoff, Ramanev, Lunacharsky, and Kamineff. It is stated that 95 per cent of the officials of the present Russian government are Jews. The earliest leaders of the internal movement that resulted in the downfall of German autocracy were Jews—Maximilian Harden, Karl Liebknecht, Rosa Luxemburg, Haase, Cohn, and many others. The direct instigators of the revolution that caused the kaiser to flee the Fatherland were Jews: Hirsch in Prussia; Kurt Eisner in Bavaria; Gradnauer in Saxony; Heinemann and Thalheimer in Württemberg. Bela Kun, the Hungarian revolutionary leader, is a Jew. Numberless other instances might be cited. The Jews have been the vertebræ of every revolution in recent times.

As intellectual insurgents the Jews have distinguished themselves not less than as armed revolutionaries.

David Ricardo, pioneer Socialist, founded the science of political economy. Other eminent Jewish economists and reformers were E. Morpurgo, L. Luzzatto, Edward Lasker, and Friedrich Engels. Karl Marx, descendant of a long line of rabbis and Talmudic teachers, was the intellectual creator of modern Socialism, and Ferdinand Lassalle, another Jew, was founder of the organized movement. Baruch Spinoza, the Dutch Jew, revolutionized the thought of his time with his revelations in philosophy. Henri Berg-

son, the French Jew, perhaps the greatest living philosopher, is doing the same thing today. Albert Einstein is the arch-revolutionist in the realm of science. Here in America we have Benjamin de Casseres, a Spanish Jew, leading a literary revolution, while Jacob Epstein, an East Side Jew, known as the "Firebrand of Art," rapidly is revolutionizing the principles of painting and sculpture—and, incidentally, has found full recognition for his genius in all the art centers of Europe. The list might be lengthened indefinitely. In art, letters, and music, in science and philosophy, the Jew is not less revolutionary than in the theory of government. By this process civilization evolves and mankind advances.

In every age the Jew is seen in a revolutionary rôle. The Psalms ring with the note of revolt against social injustice. Throughout the literature of ancient Israel the rich are anathematized and the poor are apotheosized. This, because of the iniquities the one has practiced and the inequities the other has suffered. Thus ever it is the *ebionim* (the poor) that make revolutions, either as the active agents or as the inspiring cause.

In modern times proletariazation of the Jew through persecution and robbery of civic rights has so intensified the revolutionary character of the mass of Jewry that it has become the foremost force in political change throughout the world.

Tyrants hate Jews because the latter are constitutional libertarians, and fear them because they are successful revolutionists. Their success in this direction is due to many special qualities for which tyrannical treatment itself is in a measure responsible, among which are a genius for secret associations and an emphasized fidelity to fraternism.

With the Jew, revolt takes the place of the Christian's resignation. Meekness and humility under wrong has no place in his proud philosophy. Turning the cheek to the smiter is exclusively a doctrine of the New Dispensation.

Sinister and malignant powers of kingship and priestcraft, as well as the despots of pseudo-democ-

racy, intent upon preserving their imperiled prerogatives, are doing all possible to retard progress, and to this end are determined to discredit the honored word "revolution" and make it a term of reproach.

At the same time these iniquitous influences are agitating anti-Semitism. It is all of the same piece of perversion. Everything must be damned that makes for beneficent change and would disturb the *status quo* of ancient evil.

We Gentile Americans pride ourselves on our revolutionary ancestry, what time we revile the Jew as a revolutionist. O Consistency, thou art indeed a jewel —and rarer than radium!

The Gentile revolutionist is a "savior of the people"; a Jewish revolutionist is an "enemy of society."

So, at present the Jews are prone to disclaim revolutionary proclivities. Assailed as they are on every hand by the forces of social fraud and chicanery, they scarcely can be blamed for this protective attitude. Israel the world over is put on the defensive. But I deem such denial not only a moral mistake, but also mistaken tactics. I can not believe good can be gained by an expediency that for sake of a temporary safety violates the eternal verities by compromise with wrong or concession of excellence to evil. Better the old bravery of an inflexible Israel that dared all scorn and endured all scourgings rather than recede an inch from its rightful position. To deny revolutionism is to deny progressiveness and idealism; it is a repudiation of all that Judaism represents; it discards prophetic promise and amounts to apostasy to the Hebraic mission. I hope there may be enough brave spirits in Israel who will stand firm and hold fast, to maintain the moral equipoise until this storm subsides and all shall be free to proclaim their real principles without fear.

Better to say with Rabbi Samuel Schulman in his courageous challenge to the inquisitorial interests: "We have no apology to make for the champions of

liberty and progress, in whose ranks many a Jew fought for human rights. . . . We have no apology to make for the Jew's love of knowledge, of freedom; for his sympathies with the masses of the people, for his advocacy of democratic self-government."

Rabbi James G. Heller fearlessly declares the revolutionary disposition of the Jew: "By his constancy and even obduracy, he has become the eternal protestant. The forces of reaction, that would pull mankind down, discern in him their ultimate enemy. Therefore it is that anti-Semitism is so largely identified with reaction; with the French clerical, the German monarchist, the English ultra-imperialist, the Catholic ultramontane, and the Czarist machiavelian. . . . These men do right to fear him. Within him are pent up the forces that will overturn their best-laid schemes; within him that is stirring that will not let their systems rest, that hurries them on toward the abyss—that makes way for the new."

Why, the history of the Jewish race is almost a continuous record of heroic revolt. All the old prophets and leaders in Israel were revolutionists. Are the Jews today ashamed of Moses, that master mind and splendid spirit, the greatest representative of a glorious race, who grandly resisted the tyranny of Egyptian rule and brought his people out of bondage? Are they ashamed of the rising against Syrian power, led by the mighty family of Maccabees? Are they ashamed of Bar Cochba, and the rebellion he headed against the oppressions of Rome?

Passing to modern revolts, would Jews deny the effective part played by their people in the American Revolution of 1776? Was there aught reprehensible in their aiding revolt against the corrupt, tyrannical, and licentious reign of Louis XVI.? Should they be ashamed of resistance to Prussian despotism in 1848? Do they deplore the fact that 35,000 gallant Hungarian Jews fought for freedom beneath the banner of Kossuth? Do they blush for the overthrow of the bloody Romanoff rule? Do they regret the downfall of any ruthless dynasty because of their liberating blows?

We honor the Gentiles who took part in these revolutions, and reprehend the Jewish participants. Is the integrity of revolutionism also a matter of race? A Gentile revolutionist is a patriot, the Jewish revolutionist is a traitor. What would be Washington's place in history had he been a Jew? Would he be accorded the obscurity of Haym Salomon, or the obloquy of Benedict Arnold?

We reward our revolutionists each after his kind, building monuments for the Gentiles and jails for the Jews.

Only the shameless supporters of autocracy who plot a restoration of the Old Order, however masked and mantled they be as friends of freedom, however their mouths mumble the lie of liberty, and *whatever the nation of their nativity*—dwell they in republic or in monarchial realm—only these cast contumely upon righteous revolution.

No people ever has revolted, or ever will revolt, against a just government. Why should they? Revolt is only for the purpose of obtaining justice. Virtuous rule brings content, and a contented populace does not rebel. A righteous state has naught to fear from revolution. Only tyranny has need to build the barricades against insurrection.

Support of righteous social order and just governmental organization is one of the highest of human virtues, but, "Resistance to tyranny is obedience to God."

Thomas Carlyle truthfully says: "Men seldom, or rather never for a length of time and deliberately, rebel against anything that does not deserve rebelling against."

Respecting the Jew's part in political revolutions, the editor of the *Central Christian Advocate* remarks: "Those who in despotic lands are revolutionaries have pretty good reason for being such."

It is well to remember we are living in a republic that was founded by fearless revolutionists—some of them Jews.

Democracy and freedom and justice do not depend

upon political forms, but upon economic systems. As affecting civic conditions, there is little difference between a limited monarchy and a republic, except that the looser organization and less definite constitutional provisions of the latter afford greater opportunity for abuse of official power. A certain degree of despotism is possible and probable in both. Governments can be no better than the economic considerations that guide them.

The chief fortification of autocracy is the doctrine of divine obligation to constituted authority, however iniquitous; which belief has become a political superstition with the people, corrupting their intelligence as some toxic drug poisons the blood, until they consider the virtues of vassalage.

The popular error is that of supposing the people exist for benefit of government instead of government existing for benefit of the people. When this mental attitude is reversed, governments will be divested of their spurious divinity and we shall have rectitude of rule. This will come only with a common realization that government is not in itself an end; that government is justified only to the extent that it functions for the welfare of the governed.

Another mistake is supposing a republic necessarily is a democracy. On the contrary, many republics are among the world's worst despotisms. France and some of the Latin-American countries are excellent examples of this truth. The United States have not been without illustration of this same fact in the recent past. On the other hand, England, a monarchy, is the most nearly democratic of all nations—within her own people. This, doubtless, because she is the more economically advanced.

It was the Jew who gave the world its first lessons in liberty. Since the earliest bondman chafed at his chains, the Jew has been a sleepless sentinel on the frontier of freedom.

Says Arthur Brisbane: "Jews have been leaders always in courageous, radical thought."

We find the ready activities of the revolutionary

Jew at all times and in all lands, whenever and wherever wrongs call for redress and freedom needs a friend.

Jews were the first of all peoples to challenge "the right divine of kings to govern wrong," and they still do most of such challenging. Throughout the world wherever liberticides in power lay tyranny's burden upon the populace

"They are lighting lamps of freedom on a million altar-stones
With the torches they have kindled at the blaze of burning thrones."

"The Jew is the pioneer of liberty," says Count Leo Tolstoi; and again he says, "The Jew is the symbol of absolute equality."

The Rev. Dr. Lyman Abbott, editor of *The Outlook*, says: "It is Israel who has laid the foundation of liberty. It is Israel who had the first free institutions the world ever saw."

Congressman Walter M. Chandler of New York, in a recent speech in the House of Representatives assailing anti-Semitism, said: "Liberty well may complain when Jews are persecuted and oppressed, for from the days of Isaiah and Jeremiah, the first great revolutionists of earth, to the times of Gambetta and Castelar, the fierce and uncompromising advocates of republican government in France and Spain, freedom's cause has had no nobler, braver champions than the sons of Israel."

Agitation for social change and betterment is engendered by the very essence of the Hebrew spirit, which seeks present benefit and is not satisfied with promises of future reward.

The Jew, although not a materialist, is essentially a realist, and demands the most of enjoyment that can be extracted from existence. He is a rational hedonist, and says with the Ecclesiastes: "I have found out that there is happiness in rejoicing only and in giving one's self comforts during life."

As an earnest eudemonist, the Jew is for the im-

mediate and tangible rather than for the nebulous and prospective. He is not a metaphysical speculator gambling in spiritual futures. His practical shrewdness extends to his philosophy of life, and he no more can be duped in a trade for heavenly treasures than in a deal for earthly possessions.

He does not believe in living on skimmed milk in this world for promise of cream in the next. He is pious, but practical. He is not satisfied with Jehovah's promissory note, indefinitely dated, preferring a sight-draft in payment for his devout services. He insists that reasonably early he shall realize on his assets.

The Jewish religion pertains to life here, rather than to life hereafter.

Judaism, unlike Christianity, does not content itself with the duty of man to God; it concerns itself largely with man's duty to man, and even God's duty to man.

The Jew renders unto Deity its due, but recognizes reciprocal obligations and insists that God "make good."

Israel's revolutionary spirit is exemplified in the leaders and the deeds of elder days; in Moses, earliest liberator of his people; in Amos, proponent of even-handed justice between man and man, and passionate defender of the poor; in the radical reforms of Ezra and Nehemiah; in the Maccabean warrior, when Mattathias the Hasmonean raised the standard of revolt against Syrian tyranny, and whose incredible valor prevailed over the mighty legions of Antiochus IV. and restored Judean independence.

The impulse for freedom will survive in the Jewish breast as long as the Pesach festival shall commemorate the emancipation from Egyptian bondage.

Jews were the original revolutionists. Says Rabbi Rudolph I. Coffee: "Passover paved the way for the Magna Charta, the Declaration of Independence, and the French Revolution. Today, as never before, this sad world needs a new birth of freedom."

It is this revolutionary character of Judaism that challenges the Gentile order. This challenge is responsible in part for the present virulent revival of

anti-Semitism. The Jew is the champion of change, and reactionary rulers are anxious to preserve the archaic status. They dread the democracy that inevitably will be ushered in with the Jewish ideal. Hence, renewed oppressions and suppressions, persecutions and executions.

The Jew is an intense individualist and a passionate libertarian, his very dogma of Divinity buttressing his belief in the equality of man inasmuch as the power to rule belongs alone to his Lord; yet even against Yahweh has he ever proclaimed his free-will without fear.

His Holy Trinity is justice, equality, liberty. Equality he emphasizes, and quotes Theodore Parker: "Democracy doesn't mean, 'I'm as good as you are,' but, 'You're as good as I am.' "

Because the mind of the Jew is conservatory and constructive, a disorganized and impoverished world has sore need of his services and cries out for his help.

None other can meet the demands of the day. Coordination of effort is the essential requirement. All other peoples are distracted by dissensions, embittered by enmities, torn by jealousies, estranged by betrayals, segregated by selfishness, divided by distrust. Innumerable heterogeneous groups are discordantly striving for diverse and conflicting interests, and the result is hopeless and helpless confusion. Confidence and co-operation are impossible. Opposition is the order of the hour. The Jewish race, as the only race with an identity of ideals working toward a common purpose, is the only race capable of concerted action.

In this day of disorganization, to this spiritually organized minority, this compact social unit, this cohesive group imbued with an inherited spirit of cooperation, must fall the major task in the mighty work of social reconstruction.

To this unprecedented undertaking the Jew will bring his instinct for freedom, his dominating sense of justice, his spirit of exact equity, his libertarian principles, his earnestness and sincerity and sagacity, and his rule for fulfillment of obligations, besides a

vast clarity of vision, a genius for organization, an unequaled administrative ability, the faculties of order and control, limitless enterprise, persistency of purpose, and an indefatigable industry.

From the fierce fires of his long persecution the Jew emerges purged of the baser passions, clean of animosity, bereft of all bitterness, without impulse for reprisal, desiring only the good of those who have despitefully used him.

Without exclusive nationality, he has no national selfishness to serve, no international enmities to satisfy, no governmental advantages to gain, no land-lust to appease, no greed for market monopoly to gratify, no covert covetousness of whatever kind, no dark designs of any description to add to the tangle of the world's intrigue. As a citizen of every country, he has impartially at heart the welfare of all lands —the *commune bonum* is his only objective.

In this work the Jews will be leaders as well as laborers. The present directors of the world's destinies have failed prodigiously. In earth's extremity they are inept and insufficient. They have wrecked the machinery of society and want the wit to reassemble it. They got mankind into a mess from which they are miserably unable to extricate it. With all their powers, they are powerless to remedy the conditions they have created. They can only survey the results of their folly in fatuous futility. They have proved their utter unworthiness and must step down and give place to their betters.

The upright Jew, by reason of his traditions and his ideals, is the man above all others that we safely may place in positions of public trust and honor.

The Old Order is obsolete, its primitive processes are obstructive. Incredibly crude before crippled by war, it now is impossibly inadequate. New conditions call for a new order of human relationships. This is to be supplied by the Jewish social ideal. The old economic system has broken down, has collapsed like the superannuated "one-hoss shay"; a new system must be substituted. Throughout Judaism runs

the economic idea, based on equity. On this humanity must hang its hope.

"And pale from the past we draw nigh thee,
And satiate with comfortless hours;
And we know thee, how all men belie thee,
And we gather the fruit of thy flowers."

In the New Order the Jewish ideal will persist until the whole world shall become a neighborhood and all mankind a brotherhood.

Under altruistic advancement, humanitarianism will take the place of nationalism.

There will be, however, no instantaneous thaumaturgic transformation of the social fabric. Magical effects are ephemeral; speed does not make for substantiality. The economic revolution must not be too sudden. Impatience is good, but it should not impel to undue haste. We must build slowly and carefully, that the edifice may be stable and enduring. In the remodeling of any structure, discarded supports can safely be withdrawn only one at a time as others are substituted; otherwise, collapse is certain.

In its supreme need the world cries out for that redemption which only Israel can give. Remindful is this of Swinburne's

"Cry out, for the old world is broken;
Cry aloud, for the Phrygian is priest,
And rears not the bountiful token,
And spreads not the fatherly feast."

And the Jew, once despised, will be exalted, as his hand remodels a demolished social structure along new lines of strength and beauty.

MORALITY OF THE JEWS

IN ANY effective racial estimate, moral traits must be considered. Close examination reveals that as a class Jews maintain a high standard of personal morality.

There are various reasons for this. Among these are the exalted ethics of Judaism, which have an enduring effect on Jewish character. Then, the elevating influence of an exceptional family life, particularly potent during the impressionable period of adolescence, must be taken into account. In fact, every influence of tradition and training inclines the Jew toward correct lines of social conduct and aids the development of his moral nature.

There are few divorces among the Jews, there is a dearth of domestic scandal, and little drunkenness is observable. Although keen to avail himself of every legitimate business advantage, the Jew is distinguished for his scrupulosity in discharging financial obligations; commercial integrity he regards as an asset quite as essential as capital. His probity is proved by the ease with which he establishes credit.

Nor is Jewish financial honesty confined to that class whose material circumstances remove it from the temptation of necessity. The Jewish Free Loan Society of Chicago reports that in its thirty years of lending money without interest and without security, 99 per cent of the loans were repaid. No less remarkable is the record of the Hebrew Free Loan Society of New York, which reported that in 1920 its loans exceeded one million dollars, of which only $275 remained unpaid. It safely may be assumed that even these negligible delinquencies were due, not to dishonesty, but to inability to pay. We well can imagine the results from loans made to Gentiles under like conditions.

Although the Jew is of nomadic origin, as are most enterprising peoples, in these days a Jewish vagabond seldom is seen. Industry and thrift are an integrant part of the Jewish moral code.

For absence of actual crime, the Jews show the best record of any race. Previous to the moral maladjustment resulting from a general social dislocation consequent upon the World War, the effects of which no class has entirely escaped, a Jew in prison, even for a minor crime, was a rarity. Nearly always a Jewish criminal trial was a *cause celebre,* because so seldom staged. So unusual was the occurrence that some courts expressed surprise when a Jew came before them under a criminal charge. Time was when Jewish crimes, by reason of their infrequency, were newspaper sensations. Even yet, identification of offenders as Jews in news reports of crime gives a disproportionate idea of the number of Jewish criminals; but reflection should show that such racial reference really is complimentary to Jews, in that it implies the news value that attaches to novelty.

It will, of course, be argued by some that the meager percentage of Jewish criminals is due to the fact that Jews constitute such a small proportion of our total population. The answer to this is that the Jewish element is so concentrated that it forms a considerable part of the citizenry of all important urban communities, which are the crime centers. It is interesting, for instance, to note comparatively the number of Jewish names in the crime records of New York City, where approximately 40 per cent of the population is Hebrew. Police Commissioner Enright testifies to the exceptional law-abiding character of the city's Jewish element.

A recent investigation of Australian prisons revealed not one Jewish inmate.

In this minimum of crime among Jews again we see the effect of special salutary influences. First might be mentioned the Jew's devotion to the Decalogue, upon which our modern statutory codes mostly are based, but which the majority of Gentiles can not

even repeat. Then there are the Talmudic teachings, which ingrain the early intelligence with a respect for law and obedience thereto. Personal pride of character is another formidable factor.

Marriage is a factor both in promoting personal morality and in preventing crime, and comparatively few Jews remain unwed.

Also, as most crime has an economic cause, the excellent economic condition of the majority of Jews, and the rational relief provided for the indigent minority by their more fortunate fellows, partly account for the paucity of crime among the Jews. Were our population exclusively Jewish, we should have as little need for prisons as for almshouses.

Both by instinct and as a matter of intelligence, the Jews are a law-abiding people. The Jew is a good business man, and he knows crime doesn't pay. Moreover, the Jew loves liberty, physical as well as political, more than do most others. As to the wild-bird is the freedom of flight and the joy of song and the splendor of the open spaces, so to the Jew is the privilege of functioning normally in free society. He no more can endure confinement and inactivity than could the restless Bedouin of the stakeless Sahara. So, the Jew is deterred from crime by his accurate sense of social values. He sees it is a poor investment.

Then, too, the Jew is a rational philosopher. While the Gentile gambles with statutory law by "taking his chance" under the law of averages, the Jew considers the infallible law of compensation, whereunder he knows the penalty for crime is an inevitability.

The modern Jew is civilized to the extent that he is constitutionally opposed to voluntary acts of violence, therefore his crimes against the person are few; and he has too great a respect for property rights to engage often in robbery.

It is only collectively that the Jew is revolutionary in social matters. Always his philosophers have taught him submission to authority and obedience to the law; and his experience has added to that teaching.

In the legal breaches most common to Jews there

is nothing intrinsically criminal. These consist chiefly of infractions of repressive laws, such as those affecting freedom of speech and of the press—incidental to their struggle for liberty. Akin to these are evasion of military conscription, frustration of legal executions, and violation of Sunday-closing laws; which things, being in conformity with their code, they justify unto themselves. Other legal offenses are due to ignorance of local laws on the part of immigrants.

The proletarian Jew will violate oppressive laws to voice his protest, it being a part of his tactics thus to direct public attention to statutory wrongs and abuse of official authority, to the end that they may be corrected.

Still, a clean bill of moral health can not be given to these people. The blackest blot on the moral repute of any race was the so-called "white slave" trade so extensive a few years ago, and which, it can not successfully be disputed, was, in its organized aspect, conducted and controlled chiefly by Jews, its operations bearing the distinctive brand of systematized Jewish commercialism. This stain was erased, however, by respectable Jews, who recognized it as a racial reproach and honestly confessed it to be such, when their efforts were largely effective in effacing the evil as an organized traffic.

It is not a reasonable assumption that the Jew so seldom figures as defendant in criminal proceedings because he is exceptionally resourceful and is adept in evading the meshes of the law. Any advantage of this kind is more than offset by the zealous activity of all Gentile agencies for the apprehension and conviction of any Jewish culprit. Indeed, when falsely accused, the Jew often finds special difficulty in establishing his innocence.

This minimum of crime among Jews is no small matter (no paradoxical paragram intended) when its economic aspect is considered in relation to citizenship values, while $1,373,000,000 annually is spent in the United States for operation of machinery to deal with crime and criminals. New York state spends 33

per cent of its taxes for the care of criminals, and it is estimated that when its present inadequate penal institutions are sufficiently augmented this amount will be increased to 50 per cent. Illinois spends 27 per cent of its revenues for the same purpose, and several other states are close competitors. When we take into account also the paucity of Hebrew paupers, Jewish morality as a public economic factor is further magnified.

To the extent that the Jews preserve their close communal life and hold fast to their ancestral faith, they maintain their traditional morality. Whatever of moral decadence is observable among Jews may reasonably be attributed to an increased intermingling with other peoples and a relaxation of Judaism's social safeguards. The Jew is peculiarly susceptible to the influences of environment, evil or otherwise, and is not immune from adoption of the vices of alien associates.

Benevolence and morality are so interdependent that benevolence may correctly be catalogued as one of the essential moral excellences. Moral persons always are benevolent, and benevolent persons usually are moral. The Jews are the most benevolent of all peoples.

Charity is a basic principle of Jewish life, "ordained in the Pentateuch as a commandment and emphasized throughout the Bible as a social duty." As an example:

"For the poor shall never cease out of the land: therefore I command thee, saying, Thou shalt open thy hand wide unto thy brother, to thy poor, and to thy needy, in thy land." (Deut., xv:11.)

As one writer points out: "Since the days of the prophet Ezekiel, Jewish law-givers and teachers have insisted that the practice of charity is one of the fundamental tests of righteousness."

According to rabbinical law no greater reproach can rest upon the Jew than that any needy coreligionist should go unaided or have his necessities relieved by a member of another race. Fifty-one Jewish Fed-

erations of Charity expend annually more than $7,000,000. With the Jew charity is neither a profession nor a pretense, but a privilege. It is not practiced for public display, but for personal effect. In these matters, at least, Jews are less ostentatious than non-Jews.

Strictly speaking, there is among the Jews no such thing as charity in the conventional sense; relief is bestowed as a duty and received as a right.

But objects of Jewish benefactions by no means are restricted to members of the Jewish race. In his benevolence, as in all other things, the Jew is universal. In all the ancient teachings he is exhorted to befriend the alien and give of his bounty to the needy stranger. These hortations he heeds, and his heart responds and his hand relaxes to every demand of human distress, regardless of race or religion.

Benevolence is the crowning beauty of Jewish character; and benevolence is a moral quality.

ZIONISM: ITS NEGATIVES*

NOTHING demonstrates more conclusively than the Zionist movement that there are two sides to every question, nor could anything tend more to convince one that even the "eternal verities" are largely a matter of viewpoint.

Both sides in this movement have their able advocates and a host of earnest adherents, and both are entitled to a hospitable hearing. So, I shall present each side, for this purpose assuming in turn the rôle of pro-Zionist and that of anti-Zionist. First, I will give my arguments against Zionism. These will be set forth as modestly as is possible where the nature of the discussion demands that the manner of presentation be more or less dogmatic.

Zionism in its essential features is a program not peculiar to the Jews. Some variation of the idea prevails among all dispossessed peoples. The North American Indians, for example, cherish a tradition that some day they will return to the wild life of the

*This chapter, and that entitled "Zionism: Its Affirmatives," were written while Palestine still was a Turkish possession, and were slightly revised after the establishment of the British mandate. Subsequent developments have altered considerably the situation in Palestine, where countless new difficulties now confront Zionism. There were the Jaffa riots, with their merciless massacre of Jews by Arabs in connivance with the native police, followed by the British embargo on Jewish immigration—the gates of the "homeland" barred against its returning children! Later, this embargo was apparently, but not actually, lifted; the slight modifications, speciously made, scarcely affecting the Jewish status, the amended conditions for admission virtually amounting to complete exclusion of that class for which the "homeland" was designed. The Italian government has closed the port of Trieste to Jews en route to Palestine. French officials in Syria have refused to permit Palestine-bound Jews to land at Beirut, and also have prohibited collections for the Jewish National

great plains, and hunt the buffalo as they did in days of old, and that the white man will betake himself elsewhere and leave the redskin in full possession of the land once more; that the race will increase and grow stronger than ever it was before the coming of the paleface.

In my opinion there is as much likelihood of restoration to the Indian of his lost inheritance as there is of actual rehabilitation of Israel.

Zionism is sentimentalism. Its impractical aspects should be apparent to any who gives the subject serious analysis. This fatal sentimentalism is shown at the outset in the selection of Palestine as the site for a Jewish commonwealth. Sentiment alone, unmixed with any practical considerations, could have governed such a choice. Palestine is a comparatively unfruitful country, partly an arid region and partly malarial marshes. Its arable soil is sterile, its natural resources are exhausted, its topographical advantages are few and unimportant, it is not contiguous to centers of either supply or consumption, it is without navigable streams and has no adequate harbor, it is surrounded by hostile hordes and is internally overrun by antagonistic Arabs. All worth while that remain to it are its traditions, and, while these are

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Fund. Pope Benedict has delivered an allocution attacking the mandate, charging oppression of Christians by Jews in Palestine, and plainly implying that Zionism is being used simply as a cloak for British imperialism. Christians and Moslems have combined to combat the Zionist project in an organization called "The Mussulman-Christian Union of Palestine." The Arabs have made it unmistakable that they will not peaceably relinquish a control they have exercised for a thousand years. Then there has been a revealing interpretation of the deceptive Balfour Declaration, which Dr. Jonah B. Wise appositely describes as "a delightful piece of verbal ingenuity," and which is called "a shrewd and cunning delusion" by Henry Morgenthau, who declares "Zionism is not a solution, but a surrender." Zangwill says the present mandatory program is "politically and economically unworkable" and warns that under its operation Palestine bids fair to become "a second Egypt to England and another ancient Egypt to the Jews."

historically precious, they are a poor foundation for an economic state. Moreover, the claim to its shrines must be shared with the mass of mankind, for every Christian and Moslem as well as the Jew calls it the Holy Land.

Modern Palestine is, in truth, a land of desolation. It may be the Holy Land, but it is not a happy land.

Because of its territorial limitations (its area is some 10,000 square miles—less than the little state of Maryland), it is not possible in these days for Palestine, however plethorically peopled, to become a national entity of importance and power sufficient to justify its existence.

No official census of Palestine has been taken, but its population is roughly estimated at 650,000. Under the most favorable conditions of intensive development the country could not, according to authoritative calculations, support a population of more than 5,000,000. At present there are approximately 15,000,000 Jews in the world. They are a prolific race of more than average longevity, and under improved conditions the number is increasing in geometrical ratio. How, then, may it be hoped to reassemble Israel's scattered host within the cramped confines of Palestine, even were all non-Jews excluded therefrom?

Local ethnic conditions are complex and difficult. The cosmopolitan character of the population may partly be surmised from the fact that in Jerusalem no less than fifty languages are spoken as vernaculars. The religions are correspondingly various. Of Palestine's total population, 80 per cent are Moslems, 11 per cent are Jews, and 9 per cent are Christians of assorted sects. Moslems and Christians are one in their opposition to the Jews. Amid these alien elements, of widely differing ethnological affinities, languages, and religions, how can the Jew hope to find harmony?

And what Jews would migrate to Palestine? The persecuted and oppressed? The old order of racial oppression rapidly is vanishing and soon will be no more than a historical memory. The Zionist movement was originated, I believe, chiefly to provide ref-

uge for Jews from the cruelties of Russia, Poland, and Roumania. But such sanctuary no longer is needed. The régime of Russian tyranny has passed, Poland's barbarous power is broken, and Roumania will be made to behave itself. Persecution of Jews, incidental to their presence among Gentiles, persists to some extent in all lands, but this now is too limited to drive them to Palestine from the ends of the earth.

The comfortable classes will not go. Zangwill says of these that he finds "the majority more united for civilization than for colonization."

Prosperous Jews certainly can not be expected to emigrate to Palestine from the countries of their present contentment. The less affluent who are established in employment could not benefit by severing existing associations and removing to Palestine to make a fresh start.

Self-appointed leaders of Zionism have no intention of personally joining the Palestinian colony. They are leaders who will remain in the rear. They are no Moseses.

Dr. Shamarya Levine uttered more than an epigram when he said, "It is easier to get Palestine for the Jews than to get Jews for Palestine." And Charles H. Joseph spoke to the point concerning proxy Zionism: "The trouble with many prominent Zionists, particularly those blessed with more than a sufficiency of this world's goods, is that they prefer to be 'absentee Zionists,' wishing Palestine on the other fellow."

According to Henri Bergson, a certain conspicuous statesman of France when asked in 1848 what he thought of Zionism, replied that he would favor the movement were he assured of the post of Jewish ambassador to Paris. This represents the attitude of all successful Jews; they don't care to make their home in the Jewish homeland.

Again to quote Zangwill: "The laws of nature [human nature] can not be set aside, even in giving the Promised Land to the Chosen People."

What, then, is the aim of the Zionists as to the per-

sonnel of the Palestinian State? Do they plan to dump all their defectives, incompetents, and other dependents into the Holy Land, where collectively they can be cared for least expensively? These scarcely would make a creditable colony, one that would reflect favorably before the world the national aspirations of the race. They are not the material for the building of a powerful and permanent state. They could not successfully manage industries, direct government, and develop culture. Moreover, I fear there are not enough failures among the Jews to constitute a very extensive colony.

If the least capable are thus to be colonized, they inevitably would be exploited by designing demagogues of their own race, as well as become the prey of all predatory foreigners.

A balanced society can not result from segregation of its weakest members. For that general development which makes for a high average of ability and accomplishment, it is necessary that there be contact and attrition of the inferior element with the superior class. The strong can not lift the weak at long-range. They must be in reaching proximity—and that means side by side.

Colonization under such circumstances can result only in retrogression and degeneration. Palestine will be merely an enormous eleemosynary institution, where human wrecks, in the absence of helpful associations, will have no hope for reclamation. In its debility and inefficiency the Jewish State will be an international invalid.

There is no need today for a Jewish homeland, for there no longer are homeless Jews except as a common condition of European warfare. The Jew now is a powerful part of nearly every great nation, enjoying civic rights equally with the Gentile. When other governments shall cease fighting Russia, directly or indirectly, and allow the nation to function normally, that vast region of almost virgin resources will afford desirable residence for the Jews or any other race, and be a fit field for Jewish enterprise. Also,

Australia, Canada, the United States, and all Latin-America give ample area for Jewish expansion.

Palestine is a land of traditions, where, if the Jew be thence transplanted, the burden of the past will weigh heavily upon him. He needs to dwell in new lands, where he always would face the future. It were better for him that he have a fresh outlook, instead of turning his vision forever backward.

The denationalized Jew is welcomed into every progressive community because he enlarges its productive capacity; he is cordially accepted by every advanced government because he adds to the aggregate of taxable wealth. As a national entity he would be a bone of contention among rival powers and an object of collective spoliation.

Among the divers difficulties confronting such a colony would be the lack of a universal language. Few things are more conducive to inharmony among mankind than what Roget, the English philologist, laments as "that barrier to the interchange of thought and mutual good understanding between man and man, which now is interposed by the diversity of their respective languages."

As a practical vehicle for intercommunication, Hebrew virtually is a dead language. In its purity it is habitually spoken by only 5 per cent of the Jews of the world, being kept alive to this limited extent chiefly by the Chassidim. Consequently, the Jews in Palestine, gathered from all quarters of the globe, would be hampered in their intercourse by a polyglot nomenclature, consisting of Yiddish, Ladino, and other Jewish jargons, as well as all the various vernaculars of the different countries whence the colonists were transplanted.

From this condition would result a "confusion of tongues" such as we are told in biblical lore prevailed at the building of the Tower of Babel, where, according to Kipling's description, "each man talked of the aims of Art, and each in an alien tongue."

In opposition to this objection, the protagonists of Zionism may point out the facility with which the

Jew acquires the thought-exchange media of whatever country to which he immigrates. In this case, however, there will be no common speech to which all may apply their study, and in the absence of any general linguistic agreement their efforts will serve only to increase the number of different users of several languages, providing no universal means for clear interchange of ideas.

Factionalism, too, invariably is a feature of political organization. The hoped-for harmony in Zion could not obtain once it were crystallized into a political state. The dissensions that have existed in the movement since its inception, steadily increasing through the years until their culmination in the latest Zionist Congress, forecast infallibly the larger discords to be expected in the future Palestine.

Realized Zionism would be a reversal of the process of progress, a backward step across the chasm of 2000 years. Judaism should be expanded by emigration, not contracted by colonization. It is but natural, perhaps, that the Jews should chafe at their anomalous position of being a nationality without a nation—a people unique in this as in all other things. But it is precisely because the Jews are not a nation that they can become a part of all nations, to achieve international redemption. Israel was "dispersed to discharge a mission to spread the principles of truth and justice and be a model of righteousness unto all the nations of earth." How, then, may it fulfill this mission if it withdraw again unto itself?

Modern Zionism simply would make of Palestine a magnified ghetto. The true Zion is a spiritual domain whose dimensions can not be defined by metes and bounds.

Jews should realize that Zionism is not exclusively their own concern. The Jewish mission is a world-mission, affecting all the inhabitants of earth.

Wherefore, the destiny of Israel is not an individual destiny; it involves the destiny of all humankind.

It behooves the Jews to bear faithfully in mind

the primal promise to Abraham, "Thou shalt be a father of many nations"—not just one paltry political state. And when disposed to be forgetful of the magnitude of their mission they should recall the covenant with Jacob that "in thee and in thy seed shall all the families of the earth be blessed." For myself, I am one Gentile who is unwilling to be cheated of his part in this patrimony, but would hold the Jews to the ancient bargain with their fathers.

All real Jews are conscious of their mission, but not all recognize the process of its fulfillment, else are unwilling to accept it.

Zionism holds in its plan a fatal contradiction. It would re-establish Jewish nationalism as a means of preserving the Jews as a people. A part of the purpose is to relieve the Jew of oppressive restrictions. As a matter of fact, persecution has been his only preservative. Racial cohesion is a consequence of resistance to invasion of his rights. Remove this cohesive agent, and Judaism would dissolve like a lump of salt in water.

So, the pressure of persecution being all that binds the Jews together, Zionism aims a death-blow at Jewish solidarity.

But the Jews now are so cosmopolitan in character, so thoroughly intermingled with other peoples, so firmly affixed in their associations, and have such enduringly established interests that never again will they attach themselves collectively to a territorial unit. They will remain distributed throughout the world, the better to disseminate the doctrines of Judaism.

Political restoration, national resuscitation, unquestionably is the primary purpose of many of the promoters of Zionism. Their program is defined by one writer as that of "reviving their corporate life on a national basis in their ancestral country." Palestine is not to be, as some suppose, simply a spiritual center, but a political state. These ambitious advocates of a "national homeland" cherish dreams of Jewish material supremacy. In Germany we find the evils of intensified nationalism, and in Germany's

finish we clearly can read the fate of Jewish chauvinism. Zangwill realized this when he said: "Mere nationalism is no more admirable than Prussianism; indeed, Prussia is only Palestine painted red."

Jewish nationality ended with the last crushing defeat at the hands of Julius Severus, the Roman commander, in 135 C. E.—and there's "the end on't." The Jewish nation was dismembered by the Diaspora, and Humpty Dumpty can not be reassembled by any human power. Judea never can be restored as a political unit.

Dispersion was necessary to the preservation of the Jews, and still is. Had they remained a national entity, massed and localized as an object for concentrated armed attack, they would have been annihilated by stronger powers for economic reasons. When the Jews were scattered over the earth, economic persecution, which they have been able to survive, was substituted for military conquest. The protection from concentrated force that this distribution afforded would be removed by reassemblage.

Owing to numerical disparity, Jewish control in Palestine would be impossible under a democratic government. The present Arabic preponderance would give that people political domination from the first. Nor is there reason to believe the discrepancy in Jewish population could be altered. The only apparent means to such an end would be expulsion of non-Jewish inhabitants and arbitrary exclusion of non-Jewish immigrants. Immediate transportation of millions of Jews to Palestine is not practicable, as preparation for them can not be made all at once. The Jewish influx must be gradual. It virtually is certain that with improved conditions there will be heavy immigration of other peoples, so that relative racial proportions will be maintained. It is equally certain that a hostile majority will not elect the Jewish minority to political power, nor is it likely to make the lot of the Jews less hard.

A truly Jewish nation would mean the union of church and state, the establishment of a religio-polit-

ical dynasty, which theocratic program is opposed to all the principles of progress and contradictory of modern thought. Such an institution would open a new field of international complications and a fresh set of religious controversies. For Britain to exercise a protectorate over Palestine at the behest of the world's Jewry would appear to justify the Roman Catholic church in requesting some friendly power to accept a mandate of Mexico in its behalf, the Greek church making the same demand for Smyrna, and so on, *ad infinitum*.

Because of territorial limitations and consequent lack of defensive facilities to guard against the greed of more powerful nations, a Palestinian State necessitates a perpetual protectorate; and protectorates exact their economic price, and the price is not small. Moreover, under a protectorate the Jews will have no opportunity for full self-development and self-expression. Their history justifies the belief that they will not long be content with such a condition.

Under Britain's mandate, Palestine is not a self-governing Jewish nation, but a British dependency, its status not materially different from that of Egypt or India. It is a condition in which the Jew can not pride and under which he can not greatly prosper.

It is a bitterly ironical situation that the great Jewish drive for national identity and territorial separatism and governmental freedom should result only in making of Palestine a vassal state—a part of the British empire.

Britain's policies are too well known to admit of any mistake in this matter. Britain will concern itself primarily with British interests, not with Jewish welfare. Washington never spoke a truer word than when he said: "It is folly in one nation to look for disinterested favors from another; it must pay with a fraction of its independence for whatever it may accept under that character—that by such acceptance it may place itself in the position of having given equivalents for nominal favors, and yet of being reproached with ingratitude for not giving more."

One need but consider the condition of Ireland, India, Egypt, Persia, Afghanistan, Thibet, Mesopotamia, and the Transvaal under England's robber-rule to know what benefits Palestine may expect from imperial patronage. The lamb might as well look to the wolf for protection as for the Jews to place their interests in the keeping of a nation historically noted for its oppression of other peoples under the hypocritical guise of helpfulness—holding many of its unwilling dependencies by force of arms.

In the vocabulary of "perfidious Albion," mandate is an alias for annexation, which itself is a euphemism for exploitation. Heaven pity Palestine with Britain for *padrone!*

The fairest land may by tyranny be turned into a "vale of tears." Even our own United States have not escaped the miseries of misgovernment, which no false patriotism can palliate.

War is a part of the price peace-loving Jews in Palestine will have to pay for the British protectorate. The relation of a dependent state to its patron power is analogous to that of a feudal retainer to his overlord, who in return for a theoretical protection was obliged to march under his master's banner whenever it pleased that personage to fare forth and plunder the province of some rival robber baron. Palestine will be expected and required to furnish its quota of men and money for whatever war imperialistic England, the "robber baron" of nations, may choose to wage: to aid in the subjection of other peoples who aspire to freedom—to send its sons to slaughter their brothers of other lands on the battlefields of the world —some of these victims non-resident Zionist leaders, mayhap.

It easily can be seen why England's statesmen have been friendly to the Zionist cause.

It is by no means a rash statement to affirm that at bottom Zionism is not a Jewish, but an anti-Semitic movement, despite the unimpeachable sincerity and unquestioned devotion of its Jewish proponents. Crafty Gentile leaders openly encourage the coloniza-

tion plan, while a majority of the dominant class secretly promote the project. Why? Is it because they love the Jew and have his best interests at heart? You know it isn't! Jews should again be reminded to "beware the Greeks bearing gifts." Now that the Jew has grown too strong in his dispersion to be longer despoiled, the Gentiles desire no more of him and would be rid of his presence among them. They would have the Jew go to Palestine, that they may seize upon the opportunities he will leave behind. In confession of their weakness, they would relieve themselves of his successful competition.

Again, while there is strength in unity, not always is there strength in concentration. Israel distributed but unified can effectively defend itself; Jews gathered in a single concentration camp can easily be suppressed and controlled. This was proved in a small way by the Pale. Shall Palestine become a larger Pale? Progressive civilization soon will compel an end of pogroms; but a Jewish nation is a logical object of armed attack in "legitimate" warfare, pretext for which readily can be provided in conformity with "international law." With the Jews collected in Palestine and virtually defenseless, their wholesale slaughter can more conveniently be accomplished. This may be the Gentile solution to the Jewish Problem. This incredible suggestion will, of course, provoke skeptical smiles from confident and confiding Jews who have learned nothing precautious from the sanguinary lessons of racial history, nor even grasped the stupendous significance of the present world-wave of anti-Semitic agitation.

If preservation and not destruction of the Jews is the desire of the Gentile nations, why do they, while approving Zionism, permit in Europe exterminative war against the Jews without so much as a polite protest?—indeed, abetting that slaughter even to the extent of providing the Polish murderers and the anti-Semitic renegade Russian commander, General Wrangel, with the very bullets with which they butcher Jews. None can be so credulous as for one

moment to suppose the complaisant powers could not, did they wish to do so, instantly stop this slaughter of Jews merely by indicating that wish. Certain it is that this result could be assured by refusing further aid until the atrocities cease.

Also, the Gentile fears the fulfillment of Israel's mission, which in his blindness he can not see as a universal blessing, thinking it means Jewish material dominance instead of spiritual supremacy—which misbelief is shared by some Jews. Furthermore, the Jewish ideal is opposed to his selfish interests. He would delay the New Dispensation with its reign of social righteousness, that he still may trample truth and justice. In Zionism he sees the surest means for the miscarriage of the Jewish mission and the defeat of humanity's highest hope.

One of the most powerful and sinister influences against which the Zionist State will be called upon to contend is the Roman Catholic hierarchy, always the most implacable and certainly the most formidable of Israel's foes. All the great strength and vast resources of this mighty militant organization will be arrayed against the undertaking. It long has been one of the dearest dreams of the papal princes to Romanize the Holy Land—and Rome does not readily relinquish any of its purposes. Ordinarily Rome works in secret and through subterranean ways, but her opposition to Jewish colonization in Palestine is open and above the surface. At the National Catholic Conference in Liverpool in 1920, Cardinal Bourne in his inaugural address sounded an alarm against Zionism, boldly declaring that the movement not only is a religious and political menace, but that it also presents the danger of Jewish "economic and financial domination." Thus providing further proof that Rome's pseudo-religious organization is in reality an international political machine and commercial institution. At this writing an International Catholic Conference has been called, to meet in Einsiedeln, Switzerland, for the avowed purpose of forming an international anti-Se-

mitic movement, arrangements for which are in the hands of the pope's personal representative, Signor Berne Maglione. What with papal influence at the courts of all the great powers and the devious diplomacy of these crafty masters of Jesuitic intrigue, there be troublous times ahead for the new Jewish nation.

Already is the Zionist colony a bone of contention between England and France. That Palestine is to be the helpless plaything of international intrigue is plainly indicated by every move affecting it that has been made in the crooked game of allied diplomacy. At the very beginning of Jewish betrayal we have the secret Sykes-Picot treaty of shameless import—an agreement aiming at merciless economic exploitation. The French mandate in Syria, held at the point of a blood-dripping sword, forecasts the fate of the Jewish occupation of Palestine. With Catholic France—the most venomously anti-Semitic of all nations dominated by the Vatican—for next-door neighbor, the Jew will enjoy about as much security as would a canary in the company of a cat. England will not keep faith with Zion in any particular when it means disastrous friction with France. In fact, this Judas among nations already has traitorously sold the Jew in secret bargain and received its equivalent of thirty pieces of dirty silver.

Surely those who are sanguine of the future of a Jewish State subject to the sovereign jurisdiction of Great Britain, are unable to perceive rightly the portents.

Press dispatches, under date of July 9, 1920, reported: "When Sir Herbert Samuels, high commissioner in Palestine, entered Jerusalem, June 30, he was escorted by eight armored cars bearing machine-guns. The streets were cleared to prevent a demonstration in opposition to the establishment of the Jewish home." Not a very auspicious beginning, you will admit, for the new Jewish nation, designed to abolish administration by force and realize the ideals of Isaiah, and

believed to be the chosen instrument of God to inaugurate the era of universal peace and brotherhood that shall bless mankind.

This hostility to the Palestine State, however, is inspired not so much by enmity for the Jews as by bitterness against the British, who are seen as using the Jew as a puppet for intrenching their power in the East and perpetuating their oppression of other peoples.

One danger resulting from a Jewish political state in Palestine, which vigilant Jews have been quick to vision and prompt to voice, is the apparent justification it will afford anti-Semites for accusing Jewish citizens of other countries of duo-nationalism and a consequent disloyalty to their local government.

As another objection to Zionism it is pertinent to point out that a Jewish nation will accentuate race-consciousness and emphasize racial differences, and so further distinguish the Jew from the rest of humanity.

Those Jews who fatuously repose faith in the generous disinterestedness of Gentile statesmen who encourage Zionism, I would ask to consider the significant circumstance that such encouragement is synchronous with the systematic anti-Semitic agitation under powerful and sometimes quasi-official patronage in the very countries most favorable to the movement.

Many Jews who repudiate the political phase of Zionism, support the program for a Jewish homeland in Palestine. This, in the words of Ingalls, is an "iridescent dream." No considerable community, however utopian its undertaking, ever has succeeded in dispensing with its political aspect. Such a feature is an inseparable part of communal existence. A state without a political structure would collapse as certainly as would a building without its supporting framework. The choice is between a political Zion and a defunct Zion.

It is not a part of the predestined program of Jewish emancipation that the Jew should emigrate *en masse* from the lands of his persecution. That

would be defeat. He must tarry and triumph. It is his mission to remain and civilize his persecutors, to the end that persecution may cease; thus, in self-defense, fulfilling his ordained destiny.

If he would be true to his mission, the last place a Jew should leave is the country of his oppression; that is where he most is needed. Instead of forsaking the inhospitable land for a place of paternalistic refuge, he should remain to redeem it and make it fit for the abiding of all men.

Zionism means evacuation and retreat—a desertion of the field and defeat for the cause.

The Jew who seeks to escape the burden that is a part of his destiny as a world-emancipator should ponder well the words of that great libertarian and universal patriot, Thomas Paine, who, when Benjamin Franklin said to him, "Paine, my country is where liberty is," replied with the grandest utterance that ever fell from mortal lips, "Franklin, *my* country is where liberty is *not*"—then went to France and to prison.

What is the actual incentive, unconscious or realized, that impels the Jews toward Zionism? They are not agreed among themselves as to the master-motive, so the Gentile is entitled to his guess. Let us proceed by the process of elimination.

Not because of ancestral associations. Rehabilitation of Palestine is not worth the enormous effort required merely for the satisfaction of a sentiment.

The idea of sanctuary scarcely is plausible. In Palestine, with a preponderant Arabic population, there will be as much persecution as in any other land —perhaps more.

Is the aim to better the material condition of members of the race? In Palestine there is not opportunity for growth or room for expansion. For proper economic development, the Jew, of all peoples, must have range for free and unlimited activities.

As for the political program, it appears to me a flimsy pretense, except on the part of a minority element that is romantically stirred by a renaissance

of national feeling. The ready acceptance of British sovereignty seems to support this view.

What, then, is the true explanation?

However Jews may delude themselves with the fiction that the purpose of their proposed return to Palestine is to escape persecution, the real underlying motive is to escape assimilation; but they are powerless to balk destiny and frustrate their mission.

It is not the soil, but the soul, that makes a nation. It is its spiritual solidarity, not the territorial aspirations of Zionists, that makes Israel what it is.

Zion is wherever the Jew has established a zone. In whatever land a Son of Israel has pitched his tent and reared his altar, he stands at the center of his own bow of promise.

The Jews are destined to have only a spiritual fatherland, than which no soil of earth could blossom so beautifully.

ZIONISM: ITS AFFIRMATIVES

SINCE that distant day when the exiled children of Israel, languishing by the waters of Babylon, lamented their lost Zion, the dream of an eventual home-coming has been the one star of hope on the Jewish horizon. No duration of dwelling in new homes in fair alien lands has lessened the acuteness of this nostalgia.

Because of this longing, the golden chain of tradition that links these people to Israel's ancient glory never has been broken. It is a bond that has helped to hold them together, preserve their racial pride, and keep alive the white flame of faith.

A dream so persistent is not lightly to be dismissed as a mere survival of tribal sentiment. Its strange vitality must have its source in some purpose of supreme significance. Many Jews regard it as intimately related to the culmination of their anciently imposed mission of world reformation.

Admitting the integrity of the Zionist idea, which is sustained by all the logic of Jewish life, the matter is resolved to a question of the authentic character of Zionism and the legitimate means for achieving its aims.

Zionism can not altogether be divested of sentiment. Such divesture would rob it of its potency and reduce it to a movement of sordid materialism without any quality of inspirational appeal. But into the Jewish problem the practical element always must enter. Despite their shrewd efficiency in utilitarian affairs, Jews are an imaginative people and care must be exercised that they do not be deluded by their dreams and misled by their enthusiasms. Ideals often are accompanied by illusions.

First of all, the objective of Zionism should clearly be defined. It should authoritatively be decided

whether its purpose is to found a political state, establish a spiritual center, or merely to provide a treasury for Jewish tradition. At present there is much confusion in the Gentile mind concerning these matters, and the same uncertainty seems to exist to some extent among Jews, even those active in the movement.

If it be conceded that the Zionist organization represents a purely spiritual movement, then Palestine, with its mighty memories, well might, and with an excellent psychological effect upon world-sentiment, be made its capital, even as Rome is the capital of the papal system. The spiritual supremacy of the Roman hierarchy over its adherents throughout the world, and recognition of its authority in moral government, does not conflict with the citizenship of those votaries in any of the various countries of which they are resident. Rome's spiritual sway extends over the earth with a sovereignty of its subjects as effective and complete as that exercised by any temporal ruler within a single nation. Despite countless ethnical divisions and boundless geographical distribution, millions of communicants, vastly exceeding the Jews in number, are held in marvelous unity by the cement of common religious convictions. So may the new Temple of Zion become the Vatican of the Jew, whose soul shall turn toward Jerusalem while his corporeal self remains resident in many nations, to whose governments he will retain a loyal allegiance. The striking resemblance in this respect between Rome and Israel augurs well for the success of Zionism. But the parallel is not perfect, for Judaism claims an administrative advantage over Catholicism in that the Jews have a double cohesion because theirs is a dual solidarity—religious solidarity and racial solidarity.

As Jews dream of national resurrection, so do Catholics dream of restoration of the temporal power of the papacy; and in all Protestant countries Catholics are obliged to combat both organized opposition and bitter personal antagonism. To establish a spiritual Zion there is not more need that dispersed Jewry

should assemble in Palestine than that the Catholics of the world should congregate in Italy to maintain the integrity of the Roman hierarchy.

If Palestine is to be made a memorial land, a historical monument to the Jewish people, a repository for preservation of racial traditions, perhaps this purpose is justified; but no extensive colonization is essential to its realization. The entire Caucasian world should join right joyously in a project to conserve this storied province of such glorious past, with its rich legacy of legend and its many inspirational relics, that was the cradle of civilization. To the Jew, of course, such an enterprise would hold a special appeal for the reason that this is his ancestral home; but his residence there is not required. His attitude consistently may be that of the successful city man who purchases from alien possessors and restores the homestead of his boyhood because of its hallowed associations, but places it in the hands of a caretaker and visits it only occasionally. Or he may feel the closer attachment of the seafaring man for the family cottage he maintains for the loved ones ashore while he spends his life on the water. To this extent sentiment is praiseworthy.

Perhaps Newton D. Baker, former Secretary of War, glimpsed a true vision of such a sentimental Zion when, in an address at a Zionist banquet in New York, Feb. 8, 1920, he said:

"Never for a moment have I believed that any large number of Jewish people of the United States would go to Palestine to reside. I should regret to see that. There is no need for any such thing. . . . Zionism is not an attempt to take away from the Jew in his liberated and liberal country his interest, but it is to build an altar of refuge, an old home place where the willow tree will stand, and the spring-house will be, and the broad porch . . . where those who are citizens of other countries can go and catch again the inspiring breath of their history and their traditions and return to their own land enriched by them."

If renationalization is the object, it can be generally approved only within certain limitations. Too long have Jews deluded themselves with the dream of an earthly empire—of the restoration of Israel's material kingdom. In this they have blinded themselves to much of spiritual splendor.

If, however, the Jewish State shall afford a practical application of Jewish principles to government, if it shall convincingly demonstrate the operation of Judaism in organized society, if it shall give to the world a working example of ethical administration of industries, if it shall serve as an effective object-lesson in peace and justice and fraternity, if it shall prove to the nations that Israel's ideal is attainable—if it shall do these things instead of enthroning racial pride, seeking arbitrary power, and struggling for selfish advantage, its formation will fully be justified.

Just what form of organization and system of administration the Jewish State finally will adopt is at present problematical. The "Pittsburgh program" indicates that the new nation may be more Marxian than Mosaic. This would not be inconsistent, being simply a return to first principles, for the primitive Jews practiced communism. The proletarian character of the mass of prospective colonists, together with the known economic leanings of the majority of their active sympathizers, makes the ultimate adoption of such a program most probable.

Whether such an experiment in government would result satisfactorily is an open question. Previous similar undertakings have not proved encouraging. In their fundamental structure the Marxian principles are designed for international operation, depending for efficacious application upon universal co-operation. Whether a single state of such limited area and narrowly restricted industrial resources can be self-sufficient, isolating itself from all interdependencies and relying solely on internal co-operation, with successful results, is a matter that can be determined only by actual demonstration. Economic logic does not appear to favor the experiment.

An instructive analogy is found in freight transportation before the standardization of railway trackage. While some lines were broad-gauge and others were narrow-gauge, interchange of shipments by transfer were cumbersome and costly and dilatory. Rational economics from the first indicated the desirability of a uniform rail gauge, and finally economic necessity forced it. Such conformity in a particular feature is a phase of limited industrial co-operation that suggests the logic of full international co-operation.

On the other hand, should the Jewish nation succeed it will stand as a convincing object-lesson to all other nations. If the Jew can demonstrate, even to a limited extent, the superior benefits of co-operative methods as against the destructive system of international competition that culminates in the additional wastage of war, other peoples inevitably will follow this lead and a reign of universal peace will result. If the Jews can prove by actual application that their social ideals are practicable, the world will enter upon the long-dreamed era of exact justice.

The big thing in behalf of the Palestinian State is that it would provide a demonstration base, an aviation field from which the still untested Jewish ideal might make its initial flight, and whence the earth-bound hopes of a harassed society also would ascend. If the Jews are afforded the opportunity to put their ethical theories into operation, if their social system is accorded a fair trial, there can be no doubt regarding results. Under such circumstances the Jewish commonwealth should joyously be hailed by all humanity. All the Jew needs in order to "make good" on such a proposition is the right sort of chance. Judaism in action is something quite different from Judaism passively awaiting the day of deliverance. It may be that only through Palestine is Israel destined to lead all other peoples out of the wilderness of their woe into the Promised Land of peace and prosperity.

But it should be borne in mind that should not the Palestinian State flourish under the unfavorable con-

ditions imposed upon it by the rest of the world, it would not thereby discredit the Jewish ideal; nor, if it be organized on a socialistic basis, would its failure under handicap necessarily prove the inutility of the Marxian philosophy. It would not be the first reverse to come to either, and the faith and fortitude of the followers of both would survive such misfortune, for disaster never can spell defeat for any cause that is founded on the fundamental verities.

Anyway, Zionism has, in my opinion, passed the period of debate, insofar as support of the movement is concerned. The undertaking has definitely been launched; and, even if we deem it unwise, like an ill-advised war, once the enterprise is entered upon every effort should be exerted to make it successful.

And no Jew can be more desirous than am I that the experiment shall prosper and prevail.

PROSELYTISM

JUDAISM is not a competitive religion. So far as I am informed, it is the only religious sect that does not practice proselytism. Certainly no religious denomination founded on Judaism refrains from such activities.

The competitive methods of the different Christian denominations, in their scramble for converts, amount to a declaration by each that it has the only *bona fide* system of salvation; that the others are pretenders and deceivers. By implication, if not by direct accusation, they repudiate and discredit one another.

Judaism does not concern itself with the creeds of any except its own people. This partly is due to the fact that it recognizes the Fatherhood of God and affirms the boundlessness of Divine benefits. It cares not by what road any part of humanity may reach salvation, content only that all shall arrive. It regards religion as a purely personal matter, and remains a non-meddler, satisfied that outsiders should attend to their spiritual affairs in their own way.

Judaism posts no market quotations on souls.

There are several explanations of the absence of proselyting proclivities on the part of Judaism. One of these, as has been indicated, is the Jew's disposition to attend to his own business. He regards every person's religious convictions as that individual's private affair, interference with which would be an impertinence. The chief reason, however, although not consciously accepted, is that Judaism is exclusively a birthright. While the Jewish religion might be acquired by conversion, Jewish character can only be inherited. Jews, as has been said of poets, are born, not made. The Gentile can not acquire Jewish character or characteristics by conversion to Juda-

ism any more than the Jew could acquire Puritan traits and qualities through apostasy. The non-Jew is destitute of Jewish traditions, one of the prime ingredients in the composition of Jewish thought and character. To recruit Jewish adherents from alien faiths would be to introduce discordant elements destructive of Israel's harmony. Jewish religion and Jewish character are twin forces, reacting each upon the other, and without these complemental factors none can be truly a Jew. Wherefore, Judaism's lack of missionary policy. Tribal procreation is the only possible source of Israel's increase. It is relevant to remark that in this respect the Jew seldom is derelict to his duty.

It is because his aspirations are universal in scope that the Jew has no missionary methods. Yet the Jews are a missionary, although not a proselyting people. They live the mission they refrain from preaching.

Judaism is all-inclusive. The Jew is monotheistic, accepting the All-Father. With the idea of the Fatherhood of God inevitably goes that of the Brotherhood of Man. To the Jew the forms of worship are not important—except for the Jew. Therefore is he intellectually hospitable, tolerant toward other beliefs. He is content for others to worship according to their own inclination so long as he is permitted the same privilege. Demanding religious self-determination for himself, he is disinclined to trespass upon the spiritual domain of others.

Rabbi Wolfe Macht reflects the attitude, not only of the rabbinate, but also of the Jewish laity, in these words: "No church is true to herself unless she becomes the guardian of liberty of conscience for others."

Of all religions, Christianity presents the least aspect of unity. For this reason alone it can have no attraction for the Jew, who stands for spiritual solidarity.

It is difficult to conceive of Deity soliciting competitive bids on the great contract of human salvation; yet that is precisely what Christian denominationalism

postulates. There are in the United States 202 religious sects, a number verified by recent government tabulation. Is it any wonder the Jew declines to enter such religious rivalry?

Gentile ecclesiasticism is influenced by the same economic interests as is partisan politics, and under clerical leadership its manipulative methods are much the same as those of the latter under demagogic direction. Christianity is divided into antagonistic denominational groups for the same purpose that opposing political parties exist—exploitation of the masses through obfuscation of the popular consciousness. This disgraceful competition for revenue in religion, however, is carried much farther than is the struggle for political spoils. "Bolts" from ecclesiastical bodies are more frequent than from political organizations. Most Christian denominations are divided into many rival sects, each taught by its spiritual preceptors to despise all the others as spawn of the Devil. Thus, there are 21 kinds of Lutherans, 15 varieties of Baptists, the same number of different Methodists, and an assortment of 12 Presbyterians. Only in the Roman Catholic church is there solidarity, effective discipline, and uniform doctrine.

Amid all this clash of conflicting creeds the Christians, their hearts filled with the love of God and hate of their fellowmen, seek to show the Jew the error of his ways and impress him with the exceeding iniquity of Israel's ancient faith—upon which their own is founded. Into the midmost of this discord and strife and confusion is invited the Jew, whose ideal is harmony and peace and order. Such insolence would be intolerable except that it approaches the sublime in egregious effrontery. When Christians are unable to agree among themselves, how then shall they expect the Jew to agree with them?

At a recent conference in New York of the Protestant Episcopal board of missions was presented a million dollar program for proselyting among the Jews. This money might better be spent by the Episcopal church in Christianizing its own communicants.

Among the parasitic element of the Christian church, proselyting is a profession, a means of personal revenue. Their propaganda for funds for the conversion of Jews is of a nature calculated to keep alive the spirit of race prejudice in the well intentioned but woefully informed laity that contribute to their graft.

Commenting on the high cost of converting Jews to Christianity through the medium of salaried missionaries, the *American Israelite* delivers this delicious bit of satire: "Those good Christians who are so anxious for the salvation of Jewish souls would save money, and perhaps get greater results, if they would put their missionaries on piece-work and pay them according to results obtained."

Gentiles always have been proselyters for profit. When the Puritan colonists found they could not rob the Indian through a process of Christianization, they murdered him because they wanted his ancestral acres; then wrote into history horrible accounts of "Indian massacres" when he defended his lands and his life.

Incidental to the economic incentive for proselyting, conversion of the Jew would serve Christians as a vindication of their own dogmas.

The least admirable creature I know is that racial renegade, the apostate Jew—the *meshummad*—who barters his spiritual sincerity for the silver pieces of Gentile patronage.

Why should the Jew wish to become a Christian, and why should the Christian desire that he do so? Christianity merely is a schismatic sect of Judaism that has discarded the essentials of its source, just as Protestantism is a secession from the Mother Church. Than for the Christian to seek conversion of the Jew, it were less unbecoming for the Jew to strive to bring the strayed sheep back into the fold.

"By their fruits ye shall know them," said the noble Nazarene. While Judaism has sown the seeds of peace and love and justice, Christianity has borne the fruitage of war and hate and oppression. Christianity's ruthless record for nearly 2000 years, carved

with the sword and written in blood and flame, scarcely is one to inspire confidence in its ethical effects.

Reviled for his religion, denounced as a deicide, persecuted in the name of Jesus, the Jew then is expected to bow in adoration before the cross that is crimsoned with the blood of his own kinsmen.

The Protestant church in America still is dominated by the spirit of the old Puritans, who came to this country that they might worship God according to their own conscience and prevent others doing the same. Their idea of the most exalted service to the Lord was burning witches, hanging Quakers, killing Indians, and persecuting Jews. As for the Romish church, here and elsewhere, it is ruled by the bloody ghost of Torquemada.

There is considerable rivalry between Romanism and Protestantism in the matter of intolerance and persecution. Tomas de Torquemada is not more detestable than is John Calvin. The burning of Servetus was not less atrocious than was the burning of Bruno. The Presbyterian Inquisition matches the Spanish Inquisition.

It will be remembered that Martin Luther, Father of Protestantism, after he had "jollied" the Jews to no purpose in his pamphlet, *Dass Jesus ein Geborener Jude Sei* (Jesus a Born Jew), became their most relentless persecutor when he found all his proselyting efforts had failed. He recalled all his kindly words. He repudiated his assertion that the sufferings of the Jews were due to the iniquity and corruption of the Roman hierarchy, and reverted to the old papal doctrine that such sufferings were a righteous punishment for their rejection of Jesus. He declared his despair of converting any Jew, because the Jewish heart was so "*stockstein eisenteufelhart*" (stock-stone-iron-devil-hard). In a subsequent pamphlet, "The Jews and Their Lies," he attacked the Jews with a venomous vindictiveness, advising all manner of violence against them, and urging that their synagogues be burned, their houses demolished, their books confiscated, their rabbis restrained from teaching, and

that they be denied the privilege of public worship. One of his amiable desires was that "their tongues be torn out through the backs of their necks."

Such was the gentle character of the founder of the Protestant Reformation, whose present-day followers are so solicitous for the spiritual welfare of the Jews and fain would bless them with the beauties of the Christian faith.

Also, Christians presume to proselyte the Chinese, whose oldest surviving form of religion antedates Christianity by 3000 years, and whose philosopher, Confucius, formulated the Golden Rule more than five centuries before it was enunciated by Jesus. Yes, meddling missionaries attempt conversion of the Chinese, although the latter have more than 500 gods, while the Christians have only one, maugre the multiplicity of their creeds. Even the Jew, with all his audacity in barter, would lack the supreme assurance to offer a single god in exchange for half a thousand!

Christian zealots would do well to take unto themselves the words of Jesus: "Woe unto you, scribes and Pharisees, hypocrites! for ye compass sea and land to make one proselyte; and when he is made, ye make him two-fold more the child of hell than yourselves." (Matt., xxiii:15.)

Some Christian clergymen, however, are intelligent enough to recognize the absurdity of attempting to convert the Jew, honest enough to admit it, and courageous enough to denounce it. The Rev. James L. Gordon, pastor of the First Congregational Church of San Francisco, says:

"The way to convert the Jew is to . . . convince his mind. This can be done only by the presentation of certain great fundamental truths. The Jewish people are pre-eminently a thinking people. . . . When a Jew goes into the Kingdom of Heaven he goes in head first. The thing to present to the Jewish mind is not a great person, but a great truth. . . . We must commend the Jew for the glorious fashion in which he has stood by his religious principles during centuries of persecution. . . . The word 'Chris-

tian' to the Jew suggests blind bigotry and relentless hate. . . . An unreasoning prejudice has followed the Jew through all the Christian centuries."

The Rev. Dr. Samuel W. Purvis of Philadelphia said in a sermon:

"Not Christianity but Christians stagger the Jew. What he has undergone at the hands of Christians in Europe would stagger us were the conditions reversed."

In a sermon on the topic, "Do Jews Need Christianity?" the Rev. Dr. William Rosenau of Eutaw Place Temple, Baltimore, gives the Jewish viewpoint on this subject, saying:

"If conversion looking toward Christianity is a glorious work, let the conversionists embrace the many opportunities which present themselves at home within the church. There are thousands of non-Jews in every community who stand sorely in need of an application of the doctrine of peace and good-will toward all mankind, which the Jew ever has emphasized in his teaching, 'Have we not all one Father? Has not one God created us? Then why shall one man deal treacherously against his brother?' Let the conversionist not concern himself with the salvation of the Jew. The Jew does not ask this solicitude. He resents it. He'll take care of himself and look to his own salvation. What he asks is respect—respect for his convictions, respect for his religion, respect for his civilizing power—that respect which he is willing to accord to all who differ with him in belief. . . . Before they can become Christians, the conversionists must change the Jews' whole nature, blot out their entire past, extending over centuries, and recast the philosophy giving shape to their lives."

When an evangelist asked Mayor Gaynor of New York for a license to preach in a Jewish district of that city, the latter in a letter replied:

"Do you not think the Jews have a good religion of their own? Have not the Christians appropriated the entire Jewish Scriptures? Was not the New Testament written by Jews? Was not Jesus also of the Jew-

ish race? Did not the Christians get most of what we have from the Jew? Why should any one work so hard to convert a Jew? I don't think I can give you a license to preach in the streets of a crowded Jewish settlement. Would you not annoy them, and do them more harm than good? How many Jews have you converted so far?"

Christians are not content to use persuasion only in their propaganda for converts, but resort to forcible methods. Now that they no longer are allowed to employ physical force in proselyting, they substitute therefor official compulsion, imposing the majority mind in religious matters upon the dissenting minority.

Thus, the practice of Bible reading in our public schools, which prevails in many of the large cities and more of the smaller communities, has resulted in a wide-spread movement to make such instruction an arbitrary part of the curricula. This has been done by legislative enactment in at least one state, Alabama; and agitation for like action is being aggressively conducted in several other states. By order of the Board of Education of Atlanta, Indianapolis, and some other cities, Bible readings in the public schools are made compulsory. In ten of the twelve states where the matter has been brought to the State Supreme Court for decision, the verdict has been that statutory prohibition of sectarianism in public schools does not exclude the Bible therefrom. Judge Thomas T. Crain of the Court of General Sessions of New York City purchased three columns of space at advertising rates in each of the New York newspapers in which to argue for religious instruction in the city schools. The impartiality and sincerity of the advocates of the plan may be judged by the fact that when the New York Board of Education offered to give a half-day each week to religious instruction in the schools on condition that the exercises be conducted by all the various sects and denominations represented by the pupil body, "a 'divided' Protestantism," according to the *Literary Digest*, "found itself, as a

Reformed Church editor admitted, 'shamefully unprepared and utterly unequal to the task.' '' In less diplomatic verbiage, the proposition was ''turned down.''

Editors of church papers deplore also the nonsectarian character of our great colleges and universities, which properly are for secular education only. ''As every one knows,'' laments *The Lutheran,* ''education has been thrust down from the high seat of power upon which it once sat enthroned when it was linked with Christian faith, and today the higher schools beyond the control of the church are being manned more and more with a race of educators to whom the Gospel of Jesus Christ is foolishness just as much as it was to the learned Greeks.''

The evils attaching to such a feature are plainly evident. Sectarian interpretation is an inevitable accompaniment of any instruction in the Scriptures. The evil effects are not restricted to non-Christian pupils; in schools attended by representatives of various religious denominations, a general conflict of creedal differences is certain to result from these readings.

Such an educational policy, whether prescribed or merely permitted, is undemocratic, un-American, and uncivilized. It flagrantly violates one of our most cherished principles, that of separation of church and state. It opens the portals of our schools to politics, which is sure to enter with all its train of attendant evils to double the discord.

Biblical instruction in the schools is an autocratic invasion of our religious liberties. It gives the child no initiative and the parents no choice in forms of spiritual faith.

Our public schools are designed for and should exclusively be devoted to academic instruction and manual training. Whatever of morals is taught therein should be confined to a code of fundamental ethical precepts common to all religions. Even this, however, would have its dangers and be subject to encroachment.

Aside from sectarian considerations, teachers in our public schools lack the special training that would qualify them as religious instructors.

The only proper school for religious instruction of Gentile children is the Sunday-school, where in each instance the teaching accords with the accepted creed. The one other permissible place for such instruction is the home. If these two sanctuaries fail to suffice for religious tuition, the public school scarcely can be expected to supply the deficiency.

Everything should be to its place and purpose, including educational institutions. Religious instruction in the public school is as inconsistent (and unnecessary) as would be academic instruction in the Sunday-school. If secular schools are to usurp the function of the Sunday-school, the latter should be abolished.

Religion can not benefit from Scriptural study in the public schools. By reducing the Bible to the level of a secular text-book it will be stripped of its sanctity, and reverence for its teachings will be lessened in the mind of youth.

It is no adequate defense of the Alabama law to point out that it stipulates the Scriptural readings shall be "without comment." Selection of such readings rests with the discretion of the teacher, and selection can be made as sectarian as can comment. Besides, the printed commentaries in the Christian Bible, which presumably the pupils are required to study in connection with their Scriptural lessons, are wholly sectarian.

Bible reading in the public schools is especially unfair to Jewish pupils, including as it does the New Testament with its doctrines subversive of Judaistic teachings. Moreover, the Old Testament of the Christian Bible, particularly the King James version, carries chapter headings strongly denunciatory of the Jews. The effect of such propaganda upon the plastic minds of Jewish children in the primary grade is one not to be regarded with indifference by their parents.

Think of the protest that would come from Chris-

tians against a proposal that the Talmud be introduced in public schools! Yet the Talmud is less inimical to Christian doctrines than is the appendix to the Christian Bible to Judaistic teachings.

Consideration of the rights of religious minorities, regard for the principle of religious liberty, the vital political tenet of separation of church and state, all oppose bringing the Bible into the schools.

By compulsory use of the Bible as a text-book in the public schools, the Protestant Christian church seeks to destroy spiritual liberty and establish a religious despotism. It would place our entire educational system under the sway of sectarian tyranny. Against this attempt to force religious conformity the Roman Catholic authorities protest with exceeding vigor—becoming Protestants, as it were. Of course, it is no more than the Catholics themselves would do had they the power—less than they did do when they did have the power, as witness the compulsions of the Inquisition. But it is cause for congratulation by every friend of freedom that the Catholics, in defense of their own dogmas, for the first time in history aid in protecting the religious rights of others.

Now comes the Rev. Dr. John Stuart Conning, former president of the Presbyterian Training School of Baltimore, with an organized campaign for proselytizing the Jews. He has established headquarters in New York City, and the somewhat voluminous title, "Superintendent of the Department of Jewish Evangelization for the Presbyterian Board of Home Missions," has been conferred upon him. The Presbyterian church has made an initial appropriation of $185,000 for his use in this work. No term less inelegant than "gall" is sufficiently expressive to characterize such a movement when the malignant Neo-Judaphobia is epidemic and all the Christian world is making war upon the Jews.

Apropos, in 1899, Christian missionaries in New York City conducted a particularly aggravating crusade among Jewish children. At the time I wrote an article on the subject, entitled, "The Sign of the

Cross,'' for a magazine that demanded a bizarre manner of treatment. I am not proud of the product; it is not the kind of thing I would do today, and I am glad that style of writing no longer is in vogue. But its viewpoint may not be without value to Christian readers, so I herewith present it in part, having deleted its more undesirable passages:

''Christian missionaries in the East Side districts of New York, having nothing more bigoted or less brutal to do, are busily engaged in branding the arms of Jewish children with the sign of the cross. The babies are bribed with gifts of candy and toys, and, too young to realize the cruel consequences, they readily submit to the operation of tattooing. Wherefore are the parents panic-stricken, and the children thus disfigured are ostracized by their playmates. The ignorant Jew of the ghetto, permeated with a prejudice fostered by his fathers through the weary years of pitiless persecution, sees only a curse in the sign of the cross, for have not his people ever been driven before this uplifted emblem and scattered to the farthest shores of every land?

''To the true Christian this barbarism of the proselyting vandals must appear as the essence of evil. To them the symbol of salvation is something too sacred for such vile use. Even an earnest heretic, such as myself, must respect that ensign because of its symbolic significance—because it represents the reverence which many millions of our race yield to that impulse of religion born of a blind desire for better things. That which is sanctified to another is sacred to me, and I respect the rights of every creature, be he dog, Jew, or Gentile.

''It were well for the Christians to leave the Jew alone in his way of worship. I know many good Jews among the faithful, but I have yet to see any good in an apostate Jew who has 'confessed Christ.' The Hebrew who embraces the Christian creed must of necessity be a hypocrite. He is traitor to every tradition of his race. The honest Jew who turns from Judaism must land in agnosticism—it is the only ref-

uge left to him. It is not in the logic of things that he should lift his eyes to the crucifix of Calvary on which hangs the sublime Man of Sorrows, his fair skin flecked with scarlet from his scourgings. Every law and lesson of his ancient ancestry forbids it. It is true that the Roman soldiery crucified a Man nearly 1900 years ago because Cæsar frowned upon his socialism and the Jews feared his heresy. It also is true that the followers of that Man have ever since crucified a race. Yes, the history of the Hebrews precludes the possibility of their conversion to the Christian faith. Then why should the misguided missionary indelibly stamp that dread device upon the tender flesh of toddling infants? There is no chance that the Jew ever will learn to love the cross—certainly not under compulsion. Through the centuries it has been his curse. As a bludgeon in the hands of bigots it has beaten him back from the haven of his hope, has driven him down the bloody track of time, since the distant hour of Calvary's tragedy. The devout Christian has kissed the blessed crucifix, then turned him from his prayers to plunder the Jew and hound him from his home, to spill his blood and ravish his daughters—and this in the name of the gentle Jesus. Before he can become a Christian the Jew must violate every inbred impulse of his tenacious nature, must disprove the influence of heredity, and discredit that instinct of race loyalty which alone has saved him from utter extinction.

"The Jew has not been a victim of racial hatred, as some suppose. He has but been an object for religious persecution. He has felt upon his bended back the scourge of Superstition. Hate of race between those of common color is a thing not to be thought of. Jesus the Jew was executed in a day when deeds of blood were common pastime, even as many another reformer has been murdered by official order in modern times. Had not the followers of the Nazarene founded a religious system, there the matter would have been allowed to rest. But their larger troubles date from that time, for the Jews have ever since been made to bear the burden of the cross that Christ

carried to the crest of Calvary. True, the tribes of Israel had their little ups and downs before the beginning of the benign Christian Era, as witness the Egyptian captivity and the Babylonian bondage; and under Roman rule, where taxes were a trifle high and they never were permitted to put a man to death or indulge in similar pleasures. But in these things race prejudice played no part. It merely was a case of 'benevolent assimilation.'

"Not until the Gentile began to get religion did the Jew have to make a run for it every time he succeeded in saving up a little spondulix. The Christians needed money for missionary and other purposes, so they took it from their circumcised fellow-citizens. It was so much easier to rob the Jew to the glory of God than to get down to hard work and earn an honest dollar. Because the Jews were mixed up in a religious riot some years ago, their posterity have been paying fines ever since. Now, the Christian should know that if his creed is true the crucifixion was absolutely necessary to the fulfillment of prophecy; therefore, not the Jew, but Jehovah himself, was responsible for the crime on Calvary.

"Whenever I come in contact with a converted Jew I feel like taking my few valuables to a safety deposit vault. It is my opinion that his only motive for espousing a strange faith is for what there may be in it. The specimens I have seen are such as their fellows might well be ashamed to acknowledge and quite glad to get rid of. He bamboozles the credulous Christians for awhile, bleeds them for boodle wherewith to convert his coreligionists, keeping them reminded that it takes money to mission and commission among the Jews. Then when the liabilities are large enough he makes a spiritual assignment, and laughs at those who suggest that he should carry fire insurance for a future life.

"In order to become a Christian, the Jew would have to do greater violence to his established convictions and the eternal consistencies, would have more to overcome in the way of religious hereditament,

than does the Christian in becoming a Unitarian. Since their great law-giver led them out of their earliest captivity, the Jews have stubbornly stood for their ancient faith against all persuasion and persecution—have successfully stood against every form of force. By the sacrifices they have made for that faith they hold it as something too sacred to forfeit. For its sake have they been hunted and humiliated, and plundered and prisoned. It is endeared to them by all the tortures and tears of the ensanguined ages. It has been their strong hope in the saddest hour, their support through every suffering. The Cross and the Crescent have vied one with the other in shedding the blood of the Chosen People. But not the knout of the Romanoff, the lance of the Moor, the sword of the Saxon, or the spear of the Moslem could turn the Jew from the faith of his fathers. He has clung to the covenant as metal to the magnet. When a religion has resisted so much it is not easily overcome. This being so, shall a muckle-mouthed missionary, with a whine that would make a cub-wolf want to take a course in voice culture, come to the Jew of the East Side and so readily capture the citadel of his most venerable worship? Well, not very extensively. No, not even though he affix a golden ball to each arm and the upright of that cruciform club which has hung above the head of Israel for nineteen centuries of Christian cruelty and civilization. Not even if he give the little limbs of every Jewish infant to the skill of a drunken 'jagger.' Too long has the voice of Rachael been lifted for her now to find comfort at an alien altar.

"Instead of trying to convert the Jew, the Christian missionary would do well to get some pointers from him on good citizenship, industry, thrift, charity, tolerance, practical religion, and the nearly lost art of attending to one's own affairs, and then labor a little among the heathen of his own sectarian household.

"I am not partial toward the Jew. Neither am I prejudiced against him. He must stand before me as other men and be measured by the same standard.

He has a right to his religion, as I have a right to mine and you to yours. I credit him with sufficient brains to know what belief is best suited to his spiritual needs. And I do not know by what right the faith of another should be forced upon him. Were he a cannibal (or a Presbyterian) there would be some reason in seeking to convert him. As it is, a dose of decency and common sense, in equal proportions, might do the missionary a great deal of good."

From the foregoing it will be noted that in those days, not having studied the question, I erroneously regarded the Jewish problem as a religious issue.

Christianity is not without its merits. These are particularly apparent when it is contrasted with churchianity. Oscar Wilde said something to the effect that Christianity is a great and beautiful and beneficent thing—and the pity is that there has been none of it in the world since Christ.

Instead of the Jews being Christianized, they will Judaize Christianity; the first requisite to which result is that Christendom be Christianized. This does not mean that Christians will become Jews, but only that they will be imbued with the Jewish ideal.

THE RUSSIAN JEW*

TO the Russian Jew, despised by those imperceptive of human values and unable to weigh his worth truly, I would pay the tribute of my profoundest admiration. In him I have found the finest possible character-material. His potentialities I believe to be greater than those of his brothers-in-blood from any other land. This appraisal, I know, will not readily be accepted, particularly by Jews of other nationalities, but I am fully convinced of its correctness.

This man from Muscovy is one of the most distinctive of Hebrew types, unlike any other representative of his race; and, in my opinion, the most important element among all Jewry, cast for a larger part in the outworkings of Israel's mission. He has suffered more than others, therefore is his capacity for accomplishment greater. It may be an untruth that "sweet are the uses of adversity," but that it is fruitful of noble results the Russian Jew in his per-

*This chapter was written in 1920, since when momentous changes have been wrought in the Russian situation. United States Senator France has visited the country for the purpose of an impartial investigation, and his report vindicates the soviet government. Revelations by other honest investigators have further rent the fabric of falsehood with which its enemies have enshrouded Russia. But that nation now, with the fangs of famine gnawing at its vitals, truly is in parlous plight. The brutality of the blockade has in a measure triumphed where the force of arms was wholly futile. Men, however heroic, will sacrifice much of principle to save their families from starvation. The allied governments have, as was predicted, executed a *volte face*, and assumed the rôle of rescuers. They are willing to recognize Russia and relieve its suffering—in return for rich trade concessions. Commercial cormorants from all other lands flock to the feast. With habitual hypocrisy, the powers that so long enforced the blockade

son bears unimpeachable testimony. He has been so refined by the searching processes of pain that little of dross is left to the golden nugget of his nature.

Proud Jews of other and happier nationalities may cast contumely upon their humble Muscovite kinsman, and be ashamed of the relationship, but I view him with a clearer vision to which his marvelous possibilities more fully are revealed.

I have seen him in New York, newly arrived from the dark and bitter land of knout and dungeon, still cringing from remembered terrors, and have witnessed the miracle of his swift metamorphosis—a transformation that has excited in me an endless wonder; I have seen him, unlettered, destitute, alien to our customs and handicapped by lack of language, with no equipment for the competitive struggle for existence in a strange land except his wonderful wits; yet impatient, eager, aspirant—chafing against his limitations like some long-tethered creature straining at its leash—and by sheer force of his striving impulses he promptly was projected to the front in every field of life's activities.

I have seen him acquire the English speech with an amazing celerity, and have seen his children in the public schools quickly outstrip in their studies their non-Jewish classmates.

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are touched to compassion by a pitiable situation of their own creating. They offer to save Russia in order to "save their faces"—and glut their greed. These mercenaries fain would show great mercy to Russia—such as the robber grants his victim. Friends of autocracy, eager for resurrection of the Romanoff dynasty, have set in motion all the international forces of reaction. The United States government, playing death with loaded dice, is using famine funds to aid restoration of the czar, and czaristic propaganda literature is being issued in heavy volume from the government printing office. Should the Russian fortress of freedom eventually be compelled to capitulate to the hosts of Hunger, "civilized" nations will know the proud satisfaction of having wrought their purpose by starving millions of women and children of a non-belligerent neighbor—and then posing as humanitarians. In this struggle between revolutionary Russia and the piratical powers the issue is plain—it is the black flag against the red.

Energized by an electric vitality, he is eternally on edge. His assiduity, his aptitude for varied activities, and his conquerless courage are the foundation-stones upon which he builds success, and he richly deserves whatever prosperity he may wrest from a reluctant world. He has a passion for progress and a genius for self-improvement.

The ease and completeness of his mastery of English is demonstrated by the work of that surpassing satirist, Bernard G. Richards of the meteoric mind, whose "Discourses of Keidansky" is one of the most finished compositions in our language, showing such a fine sense of word values and delicate discrimination in their application that it might well serve as a model for literary students born to the speech.

Then there is Abraham Cahan, who really is a greater figure in literature than as yet is generally realized; and Mary Antin Graham, and many other skilled stylists.

In nothing is the Russian Jewish immigrant more distinguished than in that desire for enlightenment which stimulates so remarkably his educational effort. Always is he eager to eat of the fruit of the Tree of Knowledge. He has a positive passion for the printed page. He outnumbers all others among frequenters of public libraries. Not only is his first thought for his children to place them in the public school, but love of learning prompts the father and even the gray grandsire to attend night classes.

Hutchins Hapgood, in "The Spirit of the Ghetto," says of the Russian Jews of New York's East Side: "They include the most educated, forcible, and talented personalities of the quarter." And, again: "City College, New York University, and Columbia University are graduating Russian Jews in numbers rapidly increasing."

"The Russian Jew is in the ascendant," says the Rev. Dr. Hugh Birckhead, rector of Emanuel Protestant Episcopal Church of Baltimore; "he is rapidly becoming the typical Jew to the average citizen."

Not only do I admire the Russian Jew for his

ability and adaptability, but I admire also his qualities of character. Unlike most people released from tyrannical restraint, he does not acquire arrogance. Freedom does not render him unduly assertive, prosperity does not clothe him with offensive pride, success does not make him boastful or ostentatious. He is gentle, honest, courteous, modest, fair-minded, keenly sympathetic, and above all genuinely concerned for the rights and liberties of others. Dumped upon these shores as social dregs, he quickly rises to the top and becomes the cream of our citizenry.

Russian immigrants, before they have been affected by their new environment and altering experiences, should be an unforgettable object-lesson to every American Jew. With their somber eyes and brooding faces, reflecting all the mysteries and miseries of their race, stamped with centuries of sorrows, they are personified history—the incarnation of the transcendent tragedy of Israel's age-long immolation.

Nor is the lot of the Russian Jew in his new home always the happy one I have pictured for the majority, for there are exceptions to every rule. Fortune not always favors him at first; success sometimes comes slowly and through painful struggle. And watching this struggle until he has found his footing on the soil of security, to me it has been more inspiring than the swift success of his more fortunate fellows. It has taught me a lesson I shall carry through life—a lesson made infinitely impressive by the pathos of his patience. Divine indeed must be the strength of the dreams that sustain him, dwelling amid the squalors of the ghetto, with the shadow of strange things forever over him, occasionally weaving a golden strand of hope among the dark threads of despair in the tragic tapestry of his life.

In considering the Russian Jew we also must consider Russia, where remain so many of his brothers. For the Jew is the better part of Russia, even as Russia is the larger part of himself. Each gives distinctive character to the other. They cannot be dissociated in the world-mind or in fact.

In Russia the Jews have accomplished the most remarkable revolution in the world's history—a feat so difficult as to be at first unbelievable. There can be no question about the Jews being responsible for the overthrow of the czar. No other class in Russia with brains sufficient for such an achievement desired his dethronement. Not only were the Jews responsible for the revolution, but they have been its guiding genius. Nearly all the intelligence in the true revolution is Jewish. According to the most authentic identification obtainable, all the real leaders of the new régime, with the exception of Lenine, are Jews; and of these is one greater than Lenine himself—Trotsky, who, by the bulk of his gigantic genius, the brilliance of which no mendacious detraction can dim, is, without reference to official rank, the present overshadowing figure in Russian affairs. Even Bertrand Russell, while denouncing his communistic doctrines, after meeting Trotsky wrote this impression of him: "The comparison with Napoleon was forced upon one." H. G. Wells, the English novelist and historian, whom Dr. Frank Crane proclaims "king of modern writers," concedes that Trotsky "is a man of very great organizing ability"—the conservative judgment of an accurate observer and reliable commentator who is not in sympathy with the communist system.

Truly, Trotsky—the most libeled character in history—is a man of whom the Jewish race should be proud.

Why should Jews be reproached with the Russian revolution? By destroying czarism they removed a reproach from the world and rendered high service to humanity. I have no patience with apologies and denials in the matter. Why should there be cause for shame in having cast off a yoke of despotism more detestable and degrading than the chains of chattel slavery? Instead, Gentile society should be eternally ashamed of having tolerated such a condition and supported such a system. Would the free Jews of America have their Russian brothers remain in debasing bondage simply because the international pow-

ers of pillage regard revolt against draconic rule as bad form? A government of force and fraud has no claim upon the loyalty of its subjects, and receives only such obedience as its might can compel. Whoever honors a tyrannical government dishonors himself.

The truth is that with the excision from the body politic of the ulcer that was czarism, the world's rotten régime of viciousness and violence sees the ultimate eradication of the whole suppurating system. In the fall of the Romanoff dynasty is forecast the collapse of all monarchy. Jews are indicted because the Jewish ideal of justice spells the death of imperialism. In Israel's program of democracy earth's ancient autocracies prevision the doom of governmental despotism. So they strike at the Jew with a poisoned weapon in a last desperate struggle for survival.

This revolution might have been accomplished virtually without violence and its first beneficent fruits already harvested except for the internal strife instigated by the Allied Powers, which, from motives of self-interest, wish to see the Old Order restored and autocratic institutions re-established. Despotism masquerading as democracy has agitated every impulse of dissatisfaction in revolutionary Russia, bribed every scoundrelly czaristic plotter, encouraged every ambitious adventurer with any qualities of leadership, financed countless counter-revolutions, and aided the murderous-minded Poles in launching their war of invasion—while hypocritically declaiming their desire for peace in Europe. All the bloodshed that has resulted from the revolution since the initial insurrection can properly be charged against the Entente.

Russia's liberators were from the first confronted by internal conditions of more appalling difficulty than any leaders of men ever before had been called upon to encounter. In a country disorganized by a corrupt and an inefficient despotism, they found chaos indescribable, an unprecedented confusion. Theirs was the most unpromising human material for national reconstruction—a peculiar population of half-barbar-

ous hordes, Mongol and moujik and mongrel, representing all varieties and extremes and contradictions of race and creed and character, commingled in bewildering complexity; the ignorant, sodden masses, brutalized by generations of serfdom, in the name of patriotism taught, as children are taught, to "love" a semi-imbecile tyrant as their "Little White Father," so long accustomed to blind obedience to irresponsible power that they cherished their chains and resented the gift of freedom as a profanation of the sacred right of hereditary rule. Yet, against all this antagonism, Jewish leaders have organized and controlled in masterly manner those forces of life that always compel order to emerge from the most desperate chaos.

Also, the Russians under this leadership have withstood economic pressure, measures of non-intercourse, boycotts and blockades, and every similar weapon that could be turned against them, as well as the force of foreign arms.

The success of these death-devoted Russian patriots against such incredible difficulties—a success impossible except to a righteous cause—is the wonder of the modern world. Victorious over virtually the entire world along the longest battle front ever known, they successively have defeated all the subsidized leaders of hired hosts sent against them—Kerensky, Yudenich, Kolchak, Denikine, and Wrangel, as well as the Polish legions—backed by British, French, and Japanese armies, together with small detachments of American forces and large quantities of American munitions.

For a first-hand description, by an impartial observer of Russian conditions and potentialities under soviet control, we can not do better than again to quote Wells, who, speaking of the sufferings of the people, says, "the bolshevist government is responsible neither for the causation nor for the continuance of these miseries." Regarding the situation faced by the bolsheviki when they assumed control, he tells us: "The Russian smash at the end of 1917 certainly was the most complete that ever has happened to any modern social organization. . . . That time of debacle was

a time of complete social disorder. It was social dissolution." Concerning acts of violence committed by the peasantry and charged against the bolsheviki, he says: "It was an explosion of the very worst side of human nature's despair; and for most of the abominations committed the bolsheviki are about as responsible as the government of Australia." Impelled by his sense of fairness and a spirit of truth, he further says of the bolsheviki:

"I disbelieve in their faith, I ridicule Marx, their prophet, but I understand and respect their spirit. They are the only possible backbone now to a renascent Russia. The recivilizing of Russia must be done with the soviet government as the starting phase. . . . They have been able to gain and retain power in Russia because they were and are the only body of people in this vast spectacle of Russian ruin with a common faith and a common spirit. . . . It is, I would say at once, the only possible government in Russia at the present time. It is the only idea. It supplies the only solidarity left in Russia. . . . It was not communism that plunged this huge, creaking, bankrupt empire into six years of exhausting war; it was European imperialism. Nor is it communism that has pestered this suffering and perhaps dying Russia with a series of subsidized raids, invasions, and insurrections, and inflicted upon it the atrocious blockade. The vindictive French creditor and the journalistic British oaf are far more responsible than any communist for these miseries."

Of the anti-bolshevists, Wells says: "They deserve nothing better than a czar, and they are incapable even of deciding which czar they desire."

Russia, worn by previous war, impoverished and unprepared, contending with division and discouragement, fighting famine and assailed by pestilence, has done what fresh and united and confident Germany, in the first flush of its strength and riches, was unable to do—prevail against the rest of the world; presenting the most magnificent spectacle of heroism ever staged for the eyes of men.

Only the directing genius of a Jew, supported by the solidarity and the deathless determination of the Jewish masses, could have achieved a result so nearly miraculous.

"It is useless," said that distinguished Danish Jew, Georg Brandes, in discussing the Russian situation, "to send armies against ideas."

"Nothing but a new and giant spirit," says Anatole France, "could have accomplished what Russian 'Red' armies, barefooted and half-starved, did against a ring of enemies."

The outside world has little positive knowledge of conditions in Russia. Truth is lost in the labyrinth of lies that has been constructed concerning that country. Most of the facts have been censored out of any fair reports coming from Russia, and falsehood substituted. The real revolutionists have been made victims of the vilest propaganda of preposterous mendacity ever directed against any brave people struggling for freedom—from that leprous lie of the nationalization of women to the shame of the Sisson documental forgeries, the latter sponsored by our own State Department with full knowledge of their spurious character.

All witnesses worthy of credence—those who are not paid propagandists or under suspicion of ulterior interest—upon return from Russia speak favorably of the soviet government. Of these I need but mention two—Judge Harry M. Fisher of the Cook County Circuit Court (Chicago), representative of the Joint Distribution Committee for relief of Jewish war sufferers, and Col. Raymond Robins, former Red Cross official. These men, with no basis for bias and of unimpeachable veracity, had unusual opportunities for observation and superior facilities for ascertaining the facts. Their testimony certainly should be taken with greater confidence than that of subsidized publicists.

Even Alexander Kerensky, deposed dictator and ablest of the anti-bolshevist leaders, is fair and truthful enough to admit in his Prague newspaper, *Volia Rossie,* that "there exists a deliberate and organized

campaign to send out false Russian news,'' and further to declare that Russia's continued difficulties are due to foreign support of the czarist movement.

No just judgment can at present be passed upon those who are directing Russian destinies. They have been kept so busy defending the nation against the aggressions of united Europe (and the United States) that they have had small opportunity to put into operation any constructive program. As Wells has said: ''A large part of their energies has been occupied in an entirely patriotic struggle against the raids, invasions, blockades, and persecutions of every sort that our insensate western governments have rained upon their tragically shattered country.''

Knowing next to nothing of the merits of the existing administrative system in Russia, I am not prepared either to approve or to condemn it. Anyway, emergency methods never should be taken as a basis for criticism of governmental rule. The fact, however, that the soviet régime is made victim of the vicious propaganda previously mentioned should go far toward convincing one of its rightness, for such propaganda always represents the opposite of actual conditions and is designed to evil ends.

The best credential of the character of the present Russian government, as well as the most convincing evidence that it mainly is directed by Jews, is the fact that, despite the burden of continuous war, it spends more per capita for education than any other government on the globe.

Since the signing of the World War armistice, the energies of the rest of Europe and of the United States largely have been concentrated in an effort to impose upon the greatest nation in the world a government which that nation does not want. Even after Kerensky was deposed, the United States treasury gave to him, in the guise of loans, one hundred million dollars (extorted from our own people) to aid in overthrowing the accepted government, having previously advanced to him approximately the same amount.

What really actuates other nations in their determination to destroy the new freedom in Russia? Let us consider first the two chief opponents, France and England.

France openly declares her purpose is to force payment of the czarist debt. It is seriously to be doubted that there would be such frank confession by France of mercenary motive at a time when it is the international fashion to justify war on moral grounds, were such the true incentive instead of a camouflage for an aim even less creditable. France well knows that in these efforts she will expend treasure far exceeding the amount of that loan. Besides, France scarcely could influence other powers to enter such an embroglio solely in behalf of her individual interests.

As for England, we are aware, of course, of her ambition for commercial supremacy in Russia; yet this does not appear as a sufficient explanation of her persistent militant attitude when her commercial ends more easily could be gained by diplomatic means.

The truth is that Gentile power throughout the world fancies that in this new economic movement dominated by Jews it sees a rising tide of Jewish supremacy. There is a great fear that the effects can not long be localized. Hence, the frantic desire to restore a czar to the throne and the Jew to the Pale.

Opposition is less to the system than to the fact that it is directed by Jews.

Surely it is more than a coincidence that the struggle to strangle embryonic liberty in Russia should be synchronous with a rebirth of anti-Semitism in the nations so engaged. Official France is more bitterly anti-Semitic than any other great power. In England much of the printed propaganda bears evidence of emanation from government sources. Britain's generous mandate of Palestine could function very effectively in checking Jewish progress. And British statesmen are very clever.

Disapproval of bolshevist methods is an excuse for onslaught of republican Russia that will deceive no thinking person. Nations that fraternized with czar-

istic Russia are not in fact excessively fastidious in such matters. The red Romanoffs—with their grim auxiliaries of knout, mine, dungeon, and scaffold—not only were tolerated by other powers, but were accorded a goodly measure of co-operation in their crimes. Our own government had its full share in these ghastly sins. We remember how relentlessly our Siberian bloodhound, Elihu Root, when Secretary of State, hunted down Jewish political refugees in this country and returned them to Russia to be executed or sent to the salt mines.

Besides, were the Russian revolutionists actually guilty of all the atrocities charged against them by the inventive pens of paid publicists, every such crime can be paralleled and surpassed from the annals of each of the Allied Powers. Let us have done with such hypocrisy.

Too much gentleness is expected of the revolted Russians. As Disraeli reminds us, "Revolutions are not made with rose-water." We do not kiss those who would kill us, nor do we reward those who rob us. Destruction of tyranny is a stern business.

William Randolph Hearst accurately points the purpose of all this slanderous propaganda against the soviet government: "To align us on the side of the old Russian autocracy, the most hideous tyranny that ever blackened the pages of history, and to array us against the Russian republic, which, no matter if it be in the beginning as extreme and unwise as was the French Revolution in its beginning, nevertheless possesses those seeds of 'Liberty, Equality, and Fraternity' which made the French republic great and which eventually will grow in Russia into a great and free democracy."

Extent of the popular ignorance regarding Russian affairs that makes easy the effectiveness of such propaganda, may be measured by the fact that the word "bolsheviki," which malevolent misrepresentation has made synonymous in the public mind with all that is abhorrent, merely is Russian for "members of the majority," just as its antonym, "mensheviki,"

used to designate the opposition party, means "members of the minority." What is there so terrible about majority rule that its nomenclature should be invested with such sinister significance?

The test of sincerity will come when Russia has proved to the satisfaction (or dissatisfaction) of our nobler nations that she can not be conquered and exploited and re-enslaved. If Russia is what she has been pictured by the propagandists of imperial interests, she should forever be excluded from the company of civilized governments—doomed endlessly to be a political pariah—a perpetual exile of nations. She can not consistently be tolerated by our own virtuous statesmen because she is successful—iniquity is iniquity, whether in victory or in defeat. There can not righteously be intercourse with an international courtesan. If, therefore, in the mad competitive scramble for Russian trade and commercial concessions the nations that now repudiate the soviet government and all its works on professed moral grounds, recognize that government and establish amicable relations, they will thereby convict themselves as liars and hypocrites. Whatever the demands of economic expediency, any alliance with such a moral monstrosity as bolshevik Russia has been depicted by professional propagandists could be only what stormy old Thad Stevens called "a league with death and a covenant with hell." My cynical prediction is that with Russia's return to economic prestige her present government will to other nations become quite as respectable and well-beloved as was that of the late and unlamented czar.

Threatened revolt at home prevented France and England permanently using their own military forces against Russia. Pressure of popular opinion compelled the administration at Washington to withdraw United States troops from their unwilling trespass of Russian soil. So the powers sent traitorous hirelings like Denikine and Wrangel, both avowed anti-Semites and notorious as such, to march against Russia with bands of mercenaries equipped and paid with money

taxed from the disapproving people. Armies of both these sordid butchers left a trail of terror among the Jewish population—such of it as survived. Every aid except the impossible man-power was extended to Poland's organized murderers. The United States War Department gave to the Poles $70,000,000 worth of army stores while they were actively engaged in slaughtering Jews—thereby enabling them to keep up the killing. The American Red Cross was ordered to turn over to the same assassins supplies valued at $2,000,000, purchased with money publicly contributed for purposes of mercy—much of it by Jews. It does seem that along with so gracious a gift the playful Poles might at least have been mildly chided for their rude pranks, if the donors disapproved such unruliness.

Women and children of Russia have died of starvation in multitude as a result of the most inhuman blockade in the world's history, enforced by self-styled "saviors of civilization" while they were flaunting imitation ideals and mouthing the hypocritical cant of humanitarianism.

Concerning the program of the Russian revolutionists I know comparatively little, and nothing that is authentic. But I am convinced that if given a chance—or, rather, when they conquer the opportunity—they will organize a government orderly in character and equitably operated.

In these days when all human institutions are in a state of flux, social prophecy is a precarious thing; yet I hazard the prediction that these Russian libertarians will triumph over all opposition, surmount every obstacle, and establish a stable and an efficient government under which an enlightened people may in security devote themselves to the pursuits of peace.

Who knows but that Russia, not Palestine, will become Zion, a promontory of progress whereon like a lighthouse shall be reared the Jewish ideal to lead all nations into the harbor of hope and safety with its beacon of beneficence—the world's dream of democracy come true!

Target for countless calumnies which even many of his best friends believe to be true, with all the hostile resources of the world's powerful nations hurled against him, the Russian Jew's struggle to throw off his thralldom is the most heroic page in human history. And in these efforts at emancipation he should have a generous godspeed from all who love mankind and are fit to be free.

THE IMPENDING CONFLICT

MUCH speculation recently has been indulged regarding war between the United States and Japan. The world consensus appears to be that eventually such a war is inevitable; but those who believe the conflict will be restricted to the nations initially involved are as narrow-visioned as those who contended that the German War would be confined to the Central Powers and the European Entente. In no future war will the original belligerents long face each other alone in battle. Into any armed controversy will be drawn on either side all peoples with common interests, common sympathies, and common antagonisms.

The coming combat will be between the colored peoples of the world and all Caucasian civilization.

Most readers probably will scout the idea of a universal race war. Persons skeptical on this score would do well to ponder the lessons of history. Nearly every great war has been unexpected except by the few. The World War generally was deemed impossible until it broke over a continent in a flood of flame. In an earlier day the notion of a religious war was ridiculed by the nations. Yet these conflicts came, despite the doubters and scoffers. It has been always the same throughout the red record. The premonitory rumblings of the French Revolution were disregarded. Napoleon's conquest of Europe was previsioned only by himself. Our War of Secession plainly was foreshadowed, but the North heeded not the portents. We are not wiser in these things today than were our farthest forbears, and because of our unwisdom will the lesson that "history repeats itself" again be written across every land in letters of blood.

War is essentially an economic product. Geographical visions of human color—red, black, brown,

yellow, white—imply no certain racial conflicts. Under variously pigmented skins of peoples is an economic stomach alike in all, and this is the special source of wars.

War is a reaction from economic distress, actual or foreseen. Modern war is the intensification of the fierce industrial conflict on which the growth of civilization for two centuries has been predicated. Not between races as such, but between industrially competitive units, may be expected the wars of the future.

Racialism is a separative, not a dynamic principle. Race antipathy, relieved of its economic element, causes withdrawal instead of bringing the antipathetic peoples together in violent conflict.

The primal problem, and the one to which we must invariably return as a base in seeking the solution of all other problems, is the struggle for existence—the means for making a living.

As race rivalry intensifies under a steadily increasing economic pressure, the inevitability of a struggle for supremacy between the white and the colored races of the entire earth becomes daily more apparent. The question of such dominance must definitely be settled, and soon.

Let us consider the deeply underlying reasons for this conflict and examine the manner in which and the means whereby it will be precipitated; after which, we will ponder its relation to the Jewish problem.

With Japan, although a nation of militant mood, an early war is not a matter of choice, but of necessity. Pressure of population, which is increasing at the rate of 600,000 a year with no corresponding increase of the means of subsistence, soon will compel expansive action. The forces of life can not indefinitely be repressed. The natural impulse of hungry hordes is for emigration. When this dynamic drift is checked it becomes dangerous. Just as certainly as confinement of an increasing volume of steam will cause an explosion, with no distributive outlet the overflowing population of the Orient will result in a social eruption. By resisting peaceful invasion we

invite hostile invasion. As Arthur Brisbane reminds us, "The greatest, most successful conquering migrations of population throughout history have been based on lack of food." The East must be fed or it will fight. If the great granaries of the Occident erect barriers against the emigrant tide, battleships will seek to batter them down. Yet, under the existing economic system, not to construct such breakwaters would mean an immigrational inundation with consequences more calamitous than could be wrought by the waves of war.

Japan's active program of preparation, designed to make her an invincible military power, is a matter of common knowledge. What is not so generally known is the extent to which her devious diplomacy is paving the way to war. Nippon rapidly is colonizing in every land where any pigmented people has its habitat. In these countries her genius for organization and her talent for intrigue are freely being exercised. Throughout the East, in Africa, in all Latin-America, in Hawaii, in the Philippines, the situation is the same. In Asia the Japanese hegemony already is supreme.

Discontent now is epidemic with earth's dusk children, and among all these peoples Japan is sowing the seeds of revolt with subtle hand.

It appears incredible that the so obvious fact that a confederation of color is forming for an overwhelming offensive against the white world should escape the attention of any intelligent observer of the operation of racial forces.

While the myopic multitude is unmindful of the menace, a few men with vision and with opportunity for knowing the truth are sounding a warning of the coming deluge. Sir H. Rider Haggard, the English novelist of African fame, who is wise in the ways of alien peoples, is quoted in an Associated Press cable dispatch as saying "unless a startling change occurs, the western races will be submerged by a great new influx of the myriad peoples of the East."

Sir Rabindranath Tagore, India's venerable poet

and philosopher, tells us of the dangerous conditions in his own country. "The fires are smoldering," he says. "Indignation in the East is all the more acute because repressed. The explosion is coming, is inevitable, will come when least expected."

In the United States we have an eloquent prophet of the dark debacle, Prof. W. E. B. Dubois, the most scholarly and intellectual representative of the Negro race. In his latest book, "Darkwater," Dubois, discoursing on the World War and its relation to the destinies of the darker races, says:

"What, then, is this dark world thinking? It is thinking that, as wild and awful as was this shameful war, it was nothing to compare with that fight for freedom which black and brown and yellow men must and will make unless their oppression and humiliation and insult at the hands of the white world cease. The dark world is going to submit to its present treatment just as long as it must and not one moment longer."

Continuing, this dark evangel of racial eruption makes this startling statement:

"Let me say this again and leave no room for mistaken meaning: The World War was primarily the jealous and avaricious struggle for the largest share in exploiting darker races. As such it is and must be but the prelude to the armed and indignant protest of these despised and ravished peoples. Today Japan is hammering on the door of justice, China is raising her half-manacled hands to knock next, India is writhing for the freedom to knock, Egypt is sullenly muttering, the Negroes of South and West Africa, of the West Indies, and of the United States are just awakening to their shameful slavery."

Dubois asserts with abundant truth that the greatest sin of the world is the despising of men, and he charges the United States is more guilty of this offense than any other country.

Remember that this writer is no ordinary educated Negro, but a man of vast vision, with a forceful mind finely trained, and possessed of exceptional powers of logical reasoning.

Estimate, if you can, the man-power that can be mustered for a war against white civilization. First, we have not only Japan's dense domestic population—60,000,000 in Japan proper and 17,284,000 in Korea—but innumerable Japanese subjects throughout the world, ready always for immediate response to the Mikado's call to action and so easy of mobilization. Then China, that so rapidly though reluctantly is passing to complete domination by Japan—the Middle Kingdom, with its 400,000,000 inhabitants. Can you sense what these stupendous figures signify? They mean that were the Chinese people to file past a given point, the procession never would end; for, before the last of those living today had gone by, another generation would have matured for the march. There are in the world the same number of Negroes, all hereditary warriors—for the women are Amazons. Then there is Mexico with its 15,000,000 mongrels, besides the Montezumans within our own borders—every mature male a potential soldier, the majority already skilled in warfare; and back of these the uncounted hybrid hordes of the rest of Latin-America. Add to this host India's swart multitude, the myriad *mesochroi* of various minor Asiatic provinces, and the Polynesian people with which Oceania teems, and you have a total of nearly three-fourths of the world's population.

Japan has the intelligence to organize these forces of destruction and the initiative to lead them to their lethal operations.

Let none deceive himself regarding the reality or the imminence of this danger. As surely as veritable effect follows visible cause, earth's ethnic opposites soon are due to meet in a death-grapple more desperate, of mightier magnitude, and of greater duration, and with more devastating results than any armed combat the world yet has witnessed.

In this cataclysmal conflict the white races will by their inharmonious relations be disqualified for victory. They are divided by factional differences and antagonized by frictional interests; debilitated and

disarmed by mutual doubts, jealousies, and suspicions. They are too deeply and intricately involved in intrigue for successful co-operation.

On the other hand, the adversary will be united by the solidarity of color and the adhesive qualities of a common grievance, strengthened by the concert begotten of a community of hope.

How can annihilation of western civilization and the subjection of a surviving remnant of the white races be averted? Only by a complete and perfect coalition of those races; and only the Jews can effect such coalition.

Only with Jewish solidarity for a foundation can there be erected a defensive wall of white racial cohesion and co-operation against which will break this dark wave of war without utter destruction of Caucasian civilization.

This view is not based upon an insubstantial sentimentalism, but upon the solid rock of the practical verities.

Consider the circumstances. What nation, involved as they all are in a furious tangle of economic and political rivalries, could take the initiative in such action with reasonable hope of universal response and uniform good faith? We may read the true reply in the fate of the League of Nations—NONE! Mutual confidence could not be established—the record of each government is against it. Even supreme fear could not form such a coalition, and if formed it could not endure; it inevitably would disintegrate through distrust.

The Jews, without nationality, but a part of every nation, are the only people free from national selfishness, national suspicion, and—it must be said—national perfidy. They are brothers to the world. In such a work they would not be suspected of ulterior undertakings. They have the instinct for fraternity, the genius for organization, the steadfastness of objectivity, and the ideals to insure purity of purpose.

It is the Jews that will give to the world its true League of Nations—a league without national jeal-

ousies, without mercenary motives, without hidden reservations, without treacherous intent, without selfish design for special advantage, without diplomatic duplicity—a league that will stand invincible against assault by the forces of every foe.

The Jews, as the only racial neutrals, are the only ones that can harmonize the conflicting elements of humanity and mobilize them for a common defense.

The blood of the Jew, distributed over the world, is the crimson cord that in the day of uttermost danger will run through the Caucasian race, binding it in a saving unity.

It is the Jewish Messiah—which is the Jewish ideal applied and in action—that must prove the savior of society.

THE JEWS AND WAR

ALTHOUGH the modern Jew is not militant-minded—detesting the wickedness of war and devoted to the nobler arts of peace, inspired by the ideal of brotherhood—the primitive Jews were by stress of circumstances a martial people. Nearly always contiguous to hostile alien tribes of warlike spirit and formidable prowess, they were forced to fight to survive. Perhaps this almost continuous struggle is what in part endowed them with that tenacity of existence, gave them the indomitable will to live, which preserved them through all the perils of the past and makes them still as inexterminable as the English sparrow.

And the men of ancient Israel were mighty warriors. Their prodigious feats of prowess are a matter of more or less authentic record. Their first great general was Joshua; then came Saul and David, successively. The exploits of these three leaders equal those of the most puissant military commanders of all time, even as the statecraft of Israel's two ablest rulers, Moses and Solomon, is unexcelled in the history of government.

As the defensive necessity for militant activities lessened, the pacific spirit innate in Israel asserted itself. The prophets inveighed against the iniquity of war and proclaimed the righteousness of peace. These principles prevailed in subsequent defeats and unto and throughout the Dispersion.

It is a common belief among Gentiles that the Jew is lacking in personal courage. This is far from being a fact. The same error is made in judging all pacifists. The Jew knows the folly of force. He sees it as resistance to reason. He is conservatory, and does not believe in expending his energies unnecessarily in physical encounter. He sees that the settlement

of disputes by violence is illogical and can prove nothing except which contestant is the greater brute. On the same principle he is opposed to submitting differences between nations to the arbitrament of arms. But just try robbing a Jew if you think he lacks the courage of combat.

The Jew dislikes to fight; but when fight he must, he gives a good account of himself. He fights to win, and usually he does. Jews seldom fight each other.

In proof of the Jew's personal courage and physical prowess, it may be pointed out that many of our most successful pugilists in all weight divisions are Jews. For politic reasons most of these assume professional names of Irish origin. With the Jew, however, pugilism is not a sport, but a business. He fights, not for renown, but for revenue; not because he loves fighting, but because he wants money. In the ring he keeps one eye on his opponent and the other on the box-office. He fights as dispassionately as he would bill an order of merchandise. Such is the only rational manner of fighting, and the only method that redeems a ring performance from utter bestiality. Commercialism is preferable to barbarism.

It is the same with the Jew in war as in personal encounter. He would avoid the conflict, but when it comes he goes into it first, and he goes in to win. He does not find the duty agreeable, but he acquits himself with credit.

Let us examine the Jew's record as a soldier in American wars. In greater proportionate number than any other class of our population the Jews enlisted in the Revolutionary War, the War of 1812, and the Mexican War. Judah Touro, a wealthy and distinguished Jew, was one of the thirteen American soldiers wounded in the battle of New Orleans. Eight thousand Jews, or approximately 5 per cent of the then racial total of this country (which means virtually every man of military age), served in the Civil War, and seven of these President Lincoln personally decorated "for surpassing bravery on the field of battle." Five thousand Jews fought under the Stars

and Stripes in the Spanish-American War; of the First California Regiment in that war, 10 per cent were Jews; the first American soldier to fall in the Philippines was Maurice Jurth, a Jew.

In many lands the ratio of Jews in military service is greater even than in the United States. In the Italian army are 14 per cent of all the Jews in Italy. The number of Jews in the Austrian army in 1893 exceeded 42,000, of whom more than 2000 were officers. In Germany's present reduced army are more than 6000 Jewish soldiers. Fifteen thousand Jews fought under the czar's standard in Manchuria. It is the same with England, France, and all other nations, and further mention of numbers would be merest arithmetical repetition, more tedious than impressive. In fact, Jews have fought in large number and with signal valor in all the world's wars since the Dispersion made them members of earth's every nation.

It was in the World War, however, that Jewish military valor attained its apotheosis in the Valhalla of the never-dying years. Limitations of space permit consideration here only of the American Jew's record in this respect. As closely as can be estimated, the Jews contributed 250,000 men to the several branches of the service, exceeding by more than one-third their quota on a proportional populative basis. The combined number of Jewish commissioned officers in army, navy, and marine corps was nearly 11,000, including a rear-admiral and a brigadier-general. There were 31 rabbis in the chaplains' corps.

Eleven hundred Jews were cited for conspicuous valor. Of the 78 Congressional Medals of Honor—the nation's supreme military decoration—that have been conferred, 3 were bestowed upon Jews. The Distinguished Service Cross went to 150 Jews. France awarded the rare Medaille Militaire to 4 American Jews and gave the Croix de Guerre to 174. Altogether, the foreign citations for valor of Jewish members of the A. E. F. were: French, 223; British, 25; various other allied commands, 75.

The latest estimate of Jewish casualties among the American forces is from 15,000 to 16,000, including 3500 fatalities.

More men bearing the name of Cohen enlisted in New York City than those of any other patronymic, exceeding in number even the multitudinous Smiths.

The youngest American soldier in this war was Albert Cohen, Jr., of Memphis, who at the age of 13 voluntarily enlisted twenty-four days after this country declared hostilities against Germany. He fell in the first line of battle during the Meuse-Argonne offensive.

But the most extraordinary feature of this remarkable record is the alacrity with which the Jews responded to the first call to arms. The amazing number of 40,000 volunteered. This surprising action upset certain preconceptions of mine concerning Jewish character. I had expected, of course, that the Jews would make excellent soldiers when conscripted along with their Gentile compatriots, but I had not supposed they would seek the service. An uncompromising pacifist myself, I was disappointed that such a multitude of Jews should display this apparent desire to march to murder under governmental license; but, remembering my own eagerness to enlist for the Spanish-American War, I ascribed their attitude to the spirit of youth, and consoled myself with the reflection that the Jewish people provides few professional soldiers.

Now, valor-crowned and victory-wreathed, comes the sovereign tragedy of all that crimson conflict—the heroic exploit of the famed "Lost Battalion" in Argonne Forest, which won for that death-devoted band its historic appellation. Yet, if pride properly may have a place in the wanton butchery called war, this indeed is its proudest achievement. The "Lost Battalion," cut off from its main command, with rations exhausted, encompassed by the enemy, scorning all overtures to surrender, for three days gallantly withstood the German attack at incredible odds. Who were these men who, facing apparently certain destruction, rose to such shining altitudes of heroism

and smilingly shook hands with Death? They consisted almost entirely of Russian Jews recruited from New York's East Side, being a part of the Seventy-seventh Division, famed for its fighting qualities, of the total number of which more than 50 per cent were Jews. Concerning these men I have a personal letter (dated June 9, 1921) from Louis Marshall, the noted constitutional lawyer, president of the American Jewish Committee, from which I make the following excerpt:

"Two years ago it was my privilege to pass over the ground where the 'Lost Battalion' rendered its immortal service. I saw where these men burrowed in the hillside. Also, I stood in the cemetery where those of them who fell were temporarily interred. It is a rough, wild country. Never have I been so impressed with the gallantry of the American boy as I was while on this journey. It seemed to me that they were supermen. The difficulties they were obliged to overcome can not be realized except by one who has visited the ground where they fought and fell. The 'Lost Battalion,' which was under the leadership of Lieut.-Col. Whittelsey, was a part of the Seventy-seventh Division, and consisted largely of Russian Jews who lived on the East Side of New York and were conscripted. They were tailors, barbers, and young men engaged in other common employment. I was a member of the District Board of New York City, which heard all appeals in conscription cases and which in the course of eighteen months passed upon 175,000 of these cases. I had, therefore, opportunity to understand the mentality of the various types that were conscripted. A considerable number of these young men were not citizens. Some of them had not been in this country long enough to have made application for their first naturalization papers. Yet, after they were brought into the service they realized what it meant, and in their devotion to the cause of America were surpassed by none. I happen to be well acquainted with Abraham Krotoshinsky, who, as you will remember, was one of the 'Lost Battalion,' and

who, after several had unsuccessfully attempted to break through the German lines in order to enable the unit to resume contact with the main forces of the American army, volunteered to perform that perilous service and, although severely wounded, succeeded in his effort, thus saving his companions from annihilation. At the time of Krotoshinsky's induction into the service he was a barber. He since has taken a course in agriculture in the National Farm School at Doylestown, and now is seeking to earn a livelihood in that vocation. . . . I never can resist the tendency to express the admiration I feel for these men whenever reference is made to them."

Thus the humblest of Russian Jews put into war's red annals one page burnished with the gold of youth's high gallantry. It is a record of knightly valor that will remain the marvel of all men so long as history shall voice the story of their deathless deeds on that field of death.

I like best, though, to think of the Jew as a consistent pacifist, who knows war for what it is and bravely tells the truth about it; who ruthlessly strips it of all its tinseled trappings of putative patriotism, relieves it of every delusive element of the proud and the glorious and the heroic until no vestige of glamour remains—shows there is nothing about it that is ennobling or inspiring, but that in its every aspect it is debasing and brutalizing—and reveals it in all its naked sordidness and bestiality; who shows the savagery of its mercenary promoters and the stupendous stupidity of those exploited ones who go forth to slay their unoffending fellows at the behest of cowardly butchers in safe places of power. I prefer to think upon him as one who is wise enough to understand that war is not born of sublime impulses, but of soulless greed. I rather would see him as one who realizes that Benjamin Franklin, that super-statesman and purest of patriots, was eternally right when he declared, "There never was a good war or a bad peace," and who can say with the old poet Shenstone:

"Let the gilded fool the toil of war pursue,
Where bleed the many to enrich the few."

It is good to recall the long line of great Jewish pacifists from Isaiah to Jesus, on to Iwan Bloch, and down to those brave spirits of today who will make no compromise with the Moloch of Militarism; knowing that as long as men will consent to fight, their rulers—whether king, kaiser, czar, or president—will provide the fighting on specious pretexts. I like to remember that an Italian Jew, Azariah de Rossi, in the sixteenth century (1574) wrote and published a book on universal peace, and that in the twentieth century (1911) an Austrian Jew, Alfred Hugo Fried, was awarded the Nobel Peace Prize. Into the centuries between these two great apostles of international amity fall the names of such peace advocates as the Swiss Jew, Raphael Ris, and Rabbi Elijah Bonemozegh of Leghorn, whose essay, "The Crime of War," was awarded a prize by the Ligue de la Paix. Others in this goodly company of warriors against war are Dr. Adolph Fischof, another Austrian Jew; Bertha Buttner, author of "Down Arms"; Israel Zangwill, with his wonderful peace plea, "The War for the World"; Dr. S. M. Melamed of Chicago, with his prize-winning essay on "The Origin, the Theory, and the History of the Peace Movement"; and—noblest of names!—Rabbi Isaac M. Wise, who, his personality unerased by death, stands among the fadeless figures on the canvas of Time.

Nor should we overlook that fearless fighter for peace during the World War, Congressman Meyer London. It is easy—and sometimes popular—to be a pacifist in time of peace; but to remain a pacifist amid the tyrannies of war requires a courage greater than that needed for the field of battle.

It rejoices me to remember that the league against Napoleon I., which was instrumental in shattering his dream of universal empire founded on force of arms, was a Jewish organization; and I am glad that in the imperial archives in Berlin was found a letter

from Rothschild to Wilhelm, dated 1911, urging against war.

Coming to current Jewish protests against war, it comforts me to read these words from a recent address by Dr. Louis Grossman: "War has no compensation and no moral influence. It destroys, and destroys forever without mercy and without forethought, and without the possibility of restitution."

Rabbi David Goldberg makes plain modern Israel's pacific purposes: "Nothing . . . can justify the waging of war. . . . Religion must no longer sanction war *under any circumstances.* . . . The Jew must lead the chorus of peace-seekers the world over."

Says the Rev. Dr. William Rosenau of Eutaw Place Temple, Baltimore: "Judaism strives for social order in its constant appeal for the establishment of universal peace."

Significant of the Jewish attitude is this editorial utterance from the *American Israelite:* "Nor is the United States ever going into a war again except in self-defense. . . . No administration will in the future be allowed to plunge this nation into a morass of death and destruction to serve the selfish interests of either mart or church."

In another editorial this same journal says: "Permanent peace never will come until mankind comes to recognize that *all* wars are criminal, and that until some other method has been found for settling international disputes the world has not yet emerged entirely from barbarism."

It is refreshing also to read this from the *Jewish Exponent:* "The establishment of peace is one of the cardinal doctrines of Judaism. The Hebrew prophets were the first, as they have been the most eloquent, advocates of universal peace. More than twenty-five centuries ago these great ideals were proclaimed in burning words that have fired the hearts of righteous men and women through all the succeeding years. Let us cast aside our hesitations and reserves, forget

our 'ifs' and 'buts,' and resolve with firmness and determination that peace can and must be secured for a distracted and tormented world by the united action of all good people who in this matter see the right and stand prepared to do it."

Before the Jew's efforts in behalf of world-peace can be largely effective, however, it is necessary that those writers who mostly direct Jewish opinion should alter their ideas on the origin of wars. They must come to see that peoples do not influence their governments to war, but that governments compel their peoples to war. As an example of what I mean, from an editorial in the *American Israelite* I quote the following:

"During the last few years every part of the world has furnished abundant evidence that our civilization is the merest veneer and that underneath the surface there still lies the untamed barbarism of the primitive man, ready to break forth whenever the governing power becomes too weak to prevent its manifestation."

Despite the shadow of tragedy that lies over all things relating to the World War, this is almost amusing when we recall how in this country hundreds of millions of dollars extorted from the people were spent in pro-war propaganda to engender an approval and an enthusiasm that did not exist, and when this proved inadequate to influence public sentiment sufficiently in favor of war, an autocratic administration resorted to intimidation, force, conscription, confiscation, and all manner of ruthlessness to drive an unwilling people into an unpopular fight.

Wars never are made by those who fight them. Were this not so, there would be no war. Conscription is the complete answer to all arguments against this assertion.

War, in any circumstances, nauseates; but what causes the gorge to rise beyond repression is the hypocrisy of rulers, whether of republic or of monarchy, in asking their conscripted victim-subjects to believe it is waged for a holy purpose. Anyone who

now has any doubt as to the purposes for which the World War was fought is a fit subject for the attentions of an alienist.

Even were the Jew not influenced toward peace by humanitarian sentiments and ethical ideals, as a good business man he still should be a pacifist. He sees that the wanton and irredeemable wastage of war is not good business. War breeds taxation, and the Jew is a taxpayer. The *Jewish Review and Observer* compresses into four words the Jewish economic idea of war: "War does not pay."

A government reports shows that of our national income last year, 93 per cent was spent for military purposes—"for past and future wars," the report phrases it. That is, 68 per cent was applied to war debts, and 25 per cent was expended for preparedness. With the involuntary irony of comparative figures, the report shows that 1 per cent was devoted to "education and science." What a voiceful commentary on our vaunted civilization! War is explained by a 1 per cent intelligence. Of the remaining 6 per cent, half went for administrative expenses and the rest was spent on public work.

Thus it is seen that war is as much an economic as an ethical crime. Of course, our munificent government makes of war an unnecessarily extravagant luxury, for, while the frugal Germans must pay only thirty-two thousand million dollars for having enjoyed five years of war, as Arthur Brisbane remarks, "we barely got into the war, yet we spent about fifty thousand million dollars merely in *getting ready.*" From these figures we vaguely may estimate how expensive to the United States would be a protracted war of its own (not another borrowed one), unless preparation is considerably more costly than war itself. This is something for the Jewish economist to ponder.

"Blessed are the peace-makers," said Jesus the Jew, "for they shall be called the children of God." Gentile rulers, with sweet Christian consistency, put pacifists into prison because of their convictions, while

themselves professing to be followers of the "Prince of Peace"! One great peace-maker whom I wot is called "Convict No. 9653."

While the Jew is hugging the hope that through the inspiring precepts of Israel will peace in time prevail, he should awaken to the truth that peace is a condition prerequisite to an acceptance of the principles of Judaism.

TWO JUDGMATIC OPINIONS

MUCH of the foregoing matter recently was published in the Jewish press under the title, "Jewish Problems Viewed Through Gentile Glasses," and aroused considerable controversy. While many editors and rabbis agreed with most of my assertions and arguments, others publicly took issue with me in several things, particularly my position on inter-racial marriage and my analysis of race psychology. In fact, I may say that my attitude toward mixed marriages was almost universally disapproved by Jews. This experience compels the conclusion that Judeo-Christian marriages are favored among Jews only by those who have made such alliances (and not all of these, perhaps) or contemplate doing so.

Mostly these discussions were tolerant and amiable, although occasional bitterness was developed. Altogether, I had little cause for complaint of my treatment by these opponents; for it is a broad characteristic of the Jew that, whatever his own views, he is willing to give every voice a hearing.

The controversial situation, however, influenced me to submit my material to two of the most capable critics in this country, one a Jew, the other a Gentile, that it might have the benefit of judgment of special value from both the Jewish and the non-Jewish viewpoint before I decided whether to put it between covers. In each instance my critic is an experienced editor, a student of sociology, an accomplished scholar, and a profound thinker. My Jewish mentor, who was educated for the rabbinate, in the course of a long letter said:

"Frankly, I am astounded at the keen insight you display in the characteristics, and what I might

vaguely call the 'soul,' of the Jewish people. To my knowledge no other Gentile writer has approached you in this matter of intimate contact. Had the articles been published anonymously and without foreword, there is not a doubt that the authorship would have been attributed to a Jew. . . . In my opinion, this work, when put into book form, will take a high place among the contributions to the literature of ethnology, and, more narrowly, of racial controversy. . . . The broad-minded Jew will agree with everything you say except on the subject of intermarriage. In my experience the Jews frown on marriages with Christians, not because of race solidarity, but for the very practical reason that such marriages usually develop into 'cat and dog' affairs. I believe this will always be so until people begin to take their religious beliefs less seriously at home and more seriously in church. More quarrels between man and wife are started by religion than by anything else. The Christian bride of a Jew calls him a 'Sheeny,' and the works are off. You see how sordid the antipathy to intermarriage really is. . . . The articles, on the whole, are great. I subscribe to virtually everything you say, and so will every broad-minded Jew."

Among many other things, my Gentile adviser wrote:

"If there is anything in this work that may militate against its general popularity, I see it in your genuine neutrality. The old saw about the neutral being unsatisfactory to both factions seems to be a truism that is actual and operative, especially in the field of discussion. Belligerents may forgive the bystander for cracking first one and then the other over the head with a material instrument; they may finally interpret these physical punches as evidence of exact impartiality. But when you praise the Jew as possessed of superior ideals, inditing the same on a durable record, it is likely to irritate Gentile emotions past the point of forgiving or forgetting. And then, when you point out to the Jewish reader that there are Jews who are really and truly offensive because

of their public conduct—describing super-swinish mastication with such fidelity to fact and reality—methinks the Jewish mind, as it appears today, will be more disposed to rend than to read you. . . .

"That, however, is not a valid objection to the work, but really, as I view it, the quality that commends it to all who can read without becoming 'red-headed.' We have too much salve on all subjects, and some solid stuff is an innovation that should have its admirers, although they may be limited in number. . . .

"In the fore part of your article on 'Proselytism' you state a truth that I believe will be rather misleading in effect, because of popular density in regard to what is involved. Christianity is, of course, as you say, 'a schismatic sect of Judaism that has discarded desirable essentials of its source,' but I know of no desirable essentials discarded by Protestantism in its secession from Rome. This seems to be a swipe at sectarianism and secession on principle which I do not believe you really wish to make or emphasize. Sectarianism, broadly speaking, is a condition of social development. It is as natural and as necessary as the swarming of bees and the separation of seeds from the parent stem. I merely make the suggestion for whatever it may indicate. . . .

"I believe the solution of the 'Jewish Question' will be and is being effected along the very lines you suggest and advocate. In fact, the tendency is for such a solution of *all* the race problems. Miscegenation is unwelcome to race consciousness, but it is operative nevertheless. The idea will continue to be resented by conservative Jews; but the Jews are becoming less conservative—gradually so, just as you point out to be desirable.

"The one thing Jewish that is most worthy of conservation is the racial ideal of equity. One might wonder whether that ideal will survive in intensity when the races blend; but there is the further reassuring fact that there are some elements of the same ideal among all peoples, so that the Gentile will not

enter mixed matrimony with hostility to the idea, but with at least some degree of contribution to it.

"I can't tell you how much I have enjoyed reading your masterly treatment of this important subject. If the belligerent factions can be induced to consider what you lay before them, it will contribute tremendously to broader understanding and agreement. And, after all, what individuals, nations, and races now need, above all things else, is that understanding of real purposes which will enable them to think and act by common consent in regard to fundamental or essential things.

"Everything now is shot to pieces because there are so many varied programs for attaining what virtually is the same thing. We all want about the same result, but each fellow is determined to get it his own way if at all. Kaiser Bill had his way of promoting the common welfare of the Germans. Our economic kaisers all have pretentious plans for the salvation of their groups and the salivation of others. Anarchist-minded brethren ignore group interests and stress individual needs and programs. But all are pushed and pulled by the common motive of getting the maximum out of a life that now seems to yield the minimum of things desirable.

"If the Jew blends with other races, it is not unreasonable to hope and expect that the blending will be going on among other racial divisions until the race question will be bred out of existence, so far as the leading and effective races are concerned, with the result that there will be no antagonistic races, but in their place a co-operative human race.

"Of course, under all this lies the economic factor that proceeds to its own solution by evolution of industry and mental reaction to the economic changes. The big five-ring circus of civilization proceeds with a race show in one ring, a religious show in another, a political exhibition in another, an educational performance in another, with clowns, ringmasters, and side-shows innumerable; but it is all under one canvas —or all on one planet, which amounts to the same

thing—and it is all regulated in finality by the ticket-wagon, which is the economic necessity that compels unity and continually tends to modify and rectify the individual or group interests of factions. . . .

"I hope you will not make any great changes in the final cast of your material for book publication. Even should it be rejected by the belligerent elements—irreconcilable Jews and fanatical Christians—there is a third side of the triangle, which is its longest limb and is growing daily, and I believe this group will read your argument and conclusions with genuine satisfaction."

My Jewish critic is, I am convinced, mistaken in his supposition that objection by Jews in general to marriage with Gentlies is not based upon the instinct for race solidarity, insofar as such instinct impels them to safeguard racial identity. This belief is induced by the character of the criticisms directed at my dissertation on "Mixed Marriages." Dr. Mendel Silber of New Orleans, in an editorial in the *Jewish Ledger* in reply to my arguments in behalf of intermarriage, makes clear the common motive. From this editorial I give the following excerpt:

"Mr. Hurt does not seem to regard intermarriage as a suicidal process of Jewish disintegration. He thinks that through the means of intermarriage Jewish ideals will gain ascendancy and will receive a wider acceptance among non-Jews. Through intermarriage, he thinks, the nations of the world will so thoroughly blend with the Jewish people that the distinct Jewish ideal of equity will become that of all mankind. This is indeed a beautiful vision, which the prophets of Israel held out to their people thousands of years ago; and we doubt not that in God's own good time this may come to pass. But at present it is still merely a vision. A few individuals among the peoples of the earth may indeed be so far advanced in the scale of enlightenment and idealism that they imagine they can perceive the fulfillment of this vision. The number of these is exceedingly small, however, and the vast majority of people are still far, very far, removed

from the millennium. And, until the majority of people reach that ideal stage, it would be suicidal for the Jew to court or condone intermarriage as a means to this ideal end. For, were the Jew voluntarily to cast away his precious heritage and throw himself into the engulfing current of the inter-racial and inter-religious stream in the hope that his teachings and ideals might thus be the more readily accepted by the world at large, he would long be dead and forgotten before the peoples of the earth will be ready to welcome the dawn of such a millennium."

In a previous editorial, headed, "Suicide as a Solution of the Problem," Rabbi Silber said:

"The Jew can not but regard the advisers who tell our people to commit suicide by intermarrying, as arrogant and highly offensive. . . . They probably do not even realize the absurdity of their advice. If the Jew wanted to escape difficulty and disability by committing suicide, he hardly would have waited this long to solve the problem. The dark and dreary days of medieval misery and persecution certainly were a far more propitious period for Jewish suicide than are the days of modern enlightenment. And, if the Jew manifested an invincible will to live during the past centuries, surely he will not consent to dig his own grave today.

"As to solving the Jewish problem by intermarriage, the advice is as unwise as it is unwelcome. Those who suggest such a course apparently are incapable of grasping the Jewish problem. The Jewish problem consists, not alone of the difficulties that confront the Jew, but also—even more so, perhaps—of the difficulties that confront Judaism. To suggest that the Jew solve his problem by intermarriage, which means a deliberate and sure surrender of Judaism, is therefore tantamount to saying that the way to escape a headache is to take a fatal dose of poison, or that the only way one can prevent a boat from sinking is to plunge into the deep ocean.

"No, indeed! The Jew is not ready to commit racial or religious suicide. The Jewish people are as

full of vim and vigor today as ever they were. The Jew is as truly actuated by the will to live as ever he was. Moreover, the world needs the Jew and Judaism today as much as ever it needed them. The eternal verities of the Jewish religion, making for justice and righteousness among men and peace and harmony among nations, still are indispensable to the march of human progress and civilization. And the Jew, who has amidst misery, hatred, and persecution borne witness to these verities, will continue his living testimony to God's truth, iterating and reiterating the Psalmist's words: 'I will not die; I shall live and proclaim the works of God.' "

Doctor Silber's words tempt to further discussion of the subject for which space can not be spared.

"THE MORNING BREAKETH"

EVEN as unity is the explanation of Jewish potency, so is it the secret of all power.

Life itself is but the unity of aggregate forces; death is their dispersion.

Division is the process of debilitation. In all things, material or moral, weakness is measured by the degree of disintegration. Human efficacy is reduced exactly to the extent that society is separated into races, nations, restrictive communities, classes, and caste.

All Jews who understand the meaning of their mission would extend their own unity to embrace mankind. Universal unity can not fail to strengthen immeasurably all the races of men. What actual philosopher shall doubt that the Jew himself will draw greater puissance from this concretion? For the law of conservation and the law of compensation, themselves operating in unison, allow nothing to be lost, and all must benefit in the exact measure that they bestow.

Jewish unity is due, not to a community of origin, but to a common ideal. For world-unity, this coalescive ideal must be made universal. This result can be obtained only by cross-fertilization of thought, inoculation of ideas, intellectual interchange—for ideas always must precede ideals. An impregnating interchange of ideas is possible only through close association. The closest human association is the intimacy of wedlock. The corollary of this postulate is intermarriage. The offspring of such unions are invested with the desired ideal by birthright, whereby it becomes posterity's endless entailment. No other identity of ideals is so certain and enduring as that which comes with the unity that results from the blending of bloods. In such manner will the Judaization of the world be wrought.

This shall come to pass whether the Jew wills it or no. It is futile for him to seek to evade his divinely ordained obligations; it is vain for him to attempt to dodge his destiny. It is a part of the process of progress to make of all Caucasian races an ethnic unit, and thereby a spiritual entity.

In such consummation we see the outworkings of omnipotent Design or Purpose, or whatever the materialistic rationalist may choose to call the recognized law of cosmic conservation that directs the forces of nature in both the physical and the social world to definite and seemingly intelligent ends.

In the fullness of that unity, when the justice of Judaism prevails, instead of an international alliance of force and fraud superimposed upon their peoples by hypocritical imperialistic governments in the libeled name of liberty at the behest of predatory interests, we shall see all the world's nations divinely covenanced in a League of Love that will express the perfect oneness of the living universe.

No more then will the strength of youth and the flower of manhood be fed into the insatiate maw of Mars to nurture the pride of rulers and comfort the lust of greed.

Not all the irenic organizations man may form can insure peace. There can be no peace without concord and comradeship, and these can not arbitrarily be created. Individuals will fight and nations will march forth to battle as long as there is cause for contention. Exact justice is the only thing that can establish the *entente cordiale* among governments and maintain friendly relations between man and man.

What more reasonable than that this idyllic condition should come through the ideals of that race whose national greeting is *Sholom Aleichem* (Peace to you)?

The world is sick today—sick of a mighty malady. It is suffering not merely from war-wounds—is not afflicted simply with pernicious anemia from persistent blood-letting. It is stricken with spiritual sickness—is enduring the agonies of arrested idealism. Its

therapeutic need is not a transfusion of blood, but an infusion of ideals. For this ailment Judaism is the only specific in the social pharmacopœia.

There will be a new definition of patriotism—a word now synonymous with self-glorification. In patriotism, as in everything, there is evolution, growth, expansion. Its development can be historically traced in the constructive processes of civilization. Patriotism first was patriarchal; then it became tribal; later it became provincial; now it is national. Soon it will be international, a world-sentiment—planetary patriotism.

We are to have a New Dispensation in every department of life's interests and activities. Our present discordant and chaotic social condition will be superseded by a system wherein order, harmony, co-ordination, and co-operation will rule.

For the cruel creed of "Survival of the strongest" will be substituted that of "Assistance for the weakest." The former is itself a survival of those savage primitive days that saw the beginnings of ceremonial religion; when superstition ruled in place of reason; when ignorance, instead of seeking knowledge, was content to worship the incomprehensible, and derived its idea of deity from phenomena of nature it was unable to understand; when men lived in caves, and dressed in skins, and ate their food raw while they saved their fire for the altar.

Life is struggle, we know, but it need not be combat. With the world-wide acceptance of the idea of reciprocal rights and the principle of human unity, co-operation will take the place of conflict. In this new era of life, instead of co-operation within a circle there will be co-operation without circumscription.

Uniformity is not essential to unity. In this universal unifying process the Jew need sacrifice none of his distinctiveness, need surrender nothing of his individuality.

Truly, "the morning breaketh." The sun of a real civilization is rising. The day is dawning when no longer it will be deemed a disgrace to love peace

and hate war. When men no more will be forced to fight whenever the interests of great economic groups come into conflict; when they will not be driven forth to slaughter their brothers in the name of patriotism because in their ambitious manipulations rival rulers have crossed the wires of imperialistic intrigue. When the test of statesmanship shall be success in preserving peace, not in making war: safeguarding the lives of the people, not sending them to "glorious death." When the militarist will be as much an outcast as an individual murderer, and the pacifist will receive the respect of all men. Yea, the day even when men no longer will be put into prison for advocating the principles of human brotherhood.

Soon truth shall triumph and justice prevail, for in that new day of blessed birth no mouth shall be muzzled and no lips shall be locked for speaking in freedom's cause.

Crucial change is inevitable. Existing conditions can not long continue. Our industrial life has reached a climax, and we have come to the supreme social crisis. There must be a new conception of industrial processes. There must be a social readjustment, a fuller righteousness in human relations. The work of the world must be done by new methods. The ideal must supplant the material. The Golden Rule has been transposed to the rule of gold: there must be another reversal of order. Existence depends upon economics, and the sources of life should be sacred. Economics must be exalted if we would elevate humanity. Untie the economic knot and the entire snarly social skein will be disentangled.

Israel is the instrument for this tremendous transformation. The race that has given to the world its master musicians will give us also human harmony. Judaism is the great equalizer of social differences, the mighty leveler of human distinctions. The Jewish ideal is one of perfect justice. Righteousness is the essence of the Jewish spirit. Israel's inspirations and aspirations will permeate the sodden social mass and leaven it into lightness. Its exalted ethics will weld

all the elements of morality into a single system—the world's codified conduct. Judaism is a living thing, pulsing, vibrant, and informed with the spirit of constructive action. It will dismantle the work of bungling builders and remodel society according to the Divine design.

His hard apprenticeship to life has given the Jew large knowledge of human needs, and a master's understanding of the materials that should enter into the new social structure. In him the flower of fellowship reaches its ripest fruition. His experiences have fitted him for an exalted fraternity. Having lacked liberty, he knows well its worth; having suffered, he knows sympathy; having been despoiled, he would protect others in their possessions.

The outstanding characteristic of Israel is unselfishness. Heirs of the ages, the Jews would share their splendid legacy with all the children of men. The most wonderful thing about the Jews is that, having endured wrongs that would have embittered another race beyond any edulcoration, they have remained sweet through all suffering. They have partaken of the sacrament of sorrow, and it has made them wondrous kind to the woes of others. Drinking the wine of an ancient wisdom, they can forgive much of Gentile folly.

History holds the cipher key to destiny. It not only chronicles past events, but registers the prophetic future. The story of the Hebrew people approaches no parallel in the records of the human race. It is the ethnic Iliad of all time—the one eternal epic. Well typified in the allegorical *Ahasuerus* of Eugene Sue, the Jew, defying all the forces of extermination, is driven on to his immortal destiny.

There must be a special purpose in the existence of a people that has preserved a separate spiritual identity throughout the ages. What is the secret of this survival? Confronted by the perpetual mystery of the centuries—the enigma of his own existence—the Jew now must read the rune and decipher his destiny.

Broadly speaking, the Jew has endured because the principles of Judaism are universal and eternal. This explanation, however, is a generalization. To particularize, the specific function of the Jew, that vindicates his continued existence, is to apply those principles to the realization of definite results.

The question of Jewish destiny is the one great issue of Judaism of which all other questions are but incidental parts. Israel's lofty conception of its mission is that the Jews are the Chosen People only that they may redeem the rest of mankind. The method by which this mission shall be accomplished is the intricate problem that involves racial destiny.

Because it has a message and a mission for the rest of the world, Judaism soon is to receive a new impulse. It will start a spiritual renaissance to spread over the world. Out of this awakening will come all those blessings of prophetic promise; the visions of old will be verified.

Fervently do I wish I might give to every doubting Jew my own deathless faith in the reality of his race's mission. Of all the tribes of men, only they are fitted for its fulfillment—fitted spiritually and intellectually, by instinct and perception, by experience and condition—the Chosen People justifying to the last generation the Omniscient Choice!

Having no nation of their own, but being a part of every nation, the Jews are the only race, *per se,* that has not the militaristic mind. They are the only people free of land-lust and the impulse for conquest —by destiny's decree dedicated to the purposes of peace and ordained to direct the rest of mankind into paths of constructive endeavor. They know how to get what they want without slaughter and robbery, and they will help others to the same high achievement. Their concern ever is for the common weal.

In the democracy of the Jew we find further evidence of his equipment for the discharge of his exalted mission. The principle of human equality is one of the first teachings of both the Torah and the Talmud, and has been proclaimed by Israel's leaders from

the prophets of eld down to the latest school of rabbinic thought. Then the sense of spiritual responsibility enters largely into the reckoning. The Jew is taught that individually he is his "brother's keeper" and that Israel shall be an inspiration to righteousness for all other races and a guiding light unto every nation. Also, Judaism is permeated with a passionate love of justice. All the prophets inveigh against injustice, and the Psalmists rebuke the rich for their oppression of the poor. Above all else is the indomitable spirit of the Jews, that, despite repeated reverses and temporary defeats, insures the ultimate triumph of Judaic truths. The Jew gets what he strives for and accomplishes what he attempts. Never in history have the Jews successfully been subjugated; never has their purposeful pride been broken. They repeatedly have been enslaved, but they never have been conquered.

Judaism is the Father of Faiths. The two great Gentile religions—Christianity and Mohammedanism —sprang from the loins of Israel. Judaism is the spiritual nucleus around which will crystallize the heterogeneous hopes of the human race.

The spirit of Israel is surcharged with revolt. Its crowning creed is resistance to wrong. It voices passionate protest against every form of social inequity and iniquity. The Jew believes in changing whatever is not right, instead of yielding supine submission.

To recapitulate the propositions in this and preceding chapters: First, the solution of the problems presented lies in the Judaization of the world. This will be accomplished by various processes, each essential to the effectiveness of the others. Direct and definite proselyting is no part of the program. The need is for precept rather than preachment; construction more than instruction. Introduction of Jewish ideals will make easier the functioning of all incidental factors. New economic methods must be adopted. All racial ethics must be refined by a process of elimination and reduced to a single system—the Neo-Judaism.

It is an incontrovertible fact that Jew and Gentile

are different—different in habits, customs, methods, viewpoints, ethics, and ideals. The thing to do is not to deny these differences, but to reconcile them.

The surest way to misunderstand any people is to hold aloof from them. Because our knowledge of the Jew is superficial our understanding of him is slight. Contact is necessary to comprehension. The Chinese have a proverb that runs: "When men come face to face, their differences vanish." William Hazlitt put it almost as well when he said, "We hardly can hate anyone that we know."

Racial reconciliation is a certain consequence of intermarriage. With a dual blood-inheritance, the progeny can reject neither legacy nor repudiate either legator.

Israel is more than a community, it is a family; often a quarrelsome and jealous one, perhaps—but still united. Jews may differ in discussion, but in deed they are one. They sometimes may walk apart, but they pull together—those of them that have been smitten with the vision of human brotherhood.

An earlier chapter has indicated the inevitability of a world-war between white and dark humanity. This mighty conflict of color will effectually eliminate race rivalry among Caucasian peoples. As when wild creatures flee before a forest fire, predacean and prey, their feuds forgotten, meet and mingle in a fraternity of fear, so will white men discard their differences under universal protective and defensive necessity and coalesce in the democracy of a common danger.

The Jewish problem itself largely is one for self-solution. Being the key to all other social problems, this solution must come first. There must be a renovation of Israel. There must be more liberal conformity to general conditions, reasonable concessions to universal requirements. There must be a broader tolerance and a catholicity of vision that knows no horizon. There must be an abatement of antagonism on part of the Jew that invites counter-antagonism. The Jew must discard his own prejudices before he rightfully can expect others to relinquish theirs.

There must be neither exclusiveness nor exclusion. This Neo-Judaism will disseminate the Jewish spirit of unity throughout the entire human race.

Jews should not merely talk their mission, they should also live it; the time for action has arrived. Theirs no longer should be a prospective program, but one of present performance for immediate results. If the Jew has been chosen for a world mission, he should prove it by "making good" instead of forever deferring its discharge. Certainly it seems that the world never will be in greater need of such action; the time is ripe for results. So the Jew should cease thinking thousands of years ahead and extending the frontiers of fulfillment. Having loafed on the job for a few millennia, the Jew now should get busy and "deliver the merchandise."

Jewish destiny is fusion and diffusion. In this process Jewish blood will be distributed, not destroyed. Unity of Jewish spirit will survive the coalition and be strengthened thereby. Not one of Israel's integrities shall perish. Both Jew and Aryan will profit from amalgamation. In this consolidation Israel gains a spiritual supremacy and the Gentile world gains a definite objective. Israel can afford to lose its non-essentials if its supreme ideal prevails.

So much for the spiritual phases of the problem. From these we will pass to its material aspects, which present influences of nearly equal magnitude.

Because the Jew is revolutionary and renovative, because he has a genius for change, because he has an affinity for innovation and is hospitable to departures, because he is possessed of that "divine discontent" which makes for improvement, it is inevitable that he should be a major force in the coming social transformation.

All life's dependencies being economic, every social problem has an economic basis. It is by the Jew that these problems will be solved, for of all earth's peoples he has the clearest comprehension of the economic verities. By bestowing the boon of universal freedom, by emancipating the world from economic

thralldom, he will solve his own every problem; for what we call the law of compensation is but the righteous reaction from good deeds well done.

Through all this change the soul of Judaism will survive. Aye, more, it will grow and greaten until it shall cover the earth like a brooding wing. Although far within the future, in time will come clarity of understanding, when no more will symbols be needed to express significations. Then, from all these clashing creeds, from these jangling, jarring, warring faiths and fears, from out the mists and mysteries and mistakes, will issue the Infinite Integrities and at last we shall see and know. Then from the chrysalis of doubt and darkness shall man emerge, full-winged and free, into the light of the living Truth. In that day the ashes will be blown from every altar, to mingle with the dust into which have crumbled all of earth's forgotten fanes.

. . . . . .

And now my task is finished. It has been a labor of love, but all work long-sustained grows wearisome, and I relinquish the pen with relief. Possibly this relief will be shared by my readers. I know, at least, that some things I have said will meet with much of protest from Jews; and I can not hope to escape severe criticism from many Gentiles. Objections that may be offered by Jews doubtless will be based upon the fact that I deal with Jewish affairs, not in their static form, but in their dynamic development. This censure I shall bear with complete serenity. Approval is pleasant, but its compensations can not compare with the satisfaction that comes with a sense of duty discharged. In what here is written I have striven for the highest degree of helpfulness. It is designed to benefit both Jew and Gentile and make for a better understanding between the races. I am content if aught I have said shall aid Judaism to function properly and effectively in the social organism during the difficult process of world-reconstruction.

THE END

EPILOGUE

That which a man saith well is not to be rejected because it hath some errors. No man, no book, is void of imperfections. And, therefore, reprehend who will in God's name; that is, with sweetness and without reproach.

—*John Cowell.*

(Please turn)

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